

# Geopolitics

## in Principle and Practice

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180

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# CONTENTS

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## PART ONE · GEOPOLITICS IN PRINCIPLE

Chapter One · Definition and Scope of Geopolitics · 3

Chapter Two · Evolution of Geopolitics · 10

Chapter Three · The Prime Factors of Geopolitics · 25

## PART TWO · GEOPOLITICS IN PRACTICE

Chapter Four · Geopolitics in Action · The Third Reich · 49

Chapter Five · The Geopolitical Strength of the United States · 80

Chapter Six · Japan: Oriental Version of Geopolitics · 94

Chapter Seven · The Soviet Union: Dynamics of the Eurasian Heartland · 127

Chapter Eight · The British Commonwealth-Empire: Geopolitics of Extended Domain · 143

Chapter Nine · Examples of Geopolitics in Other States · 165

Chapter Ten · Contributions of Geopolitics · 181

# LIST OF MAPS

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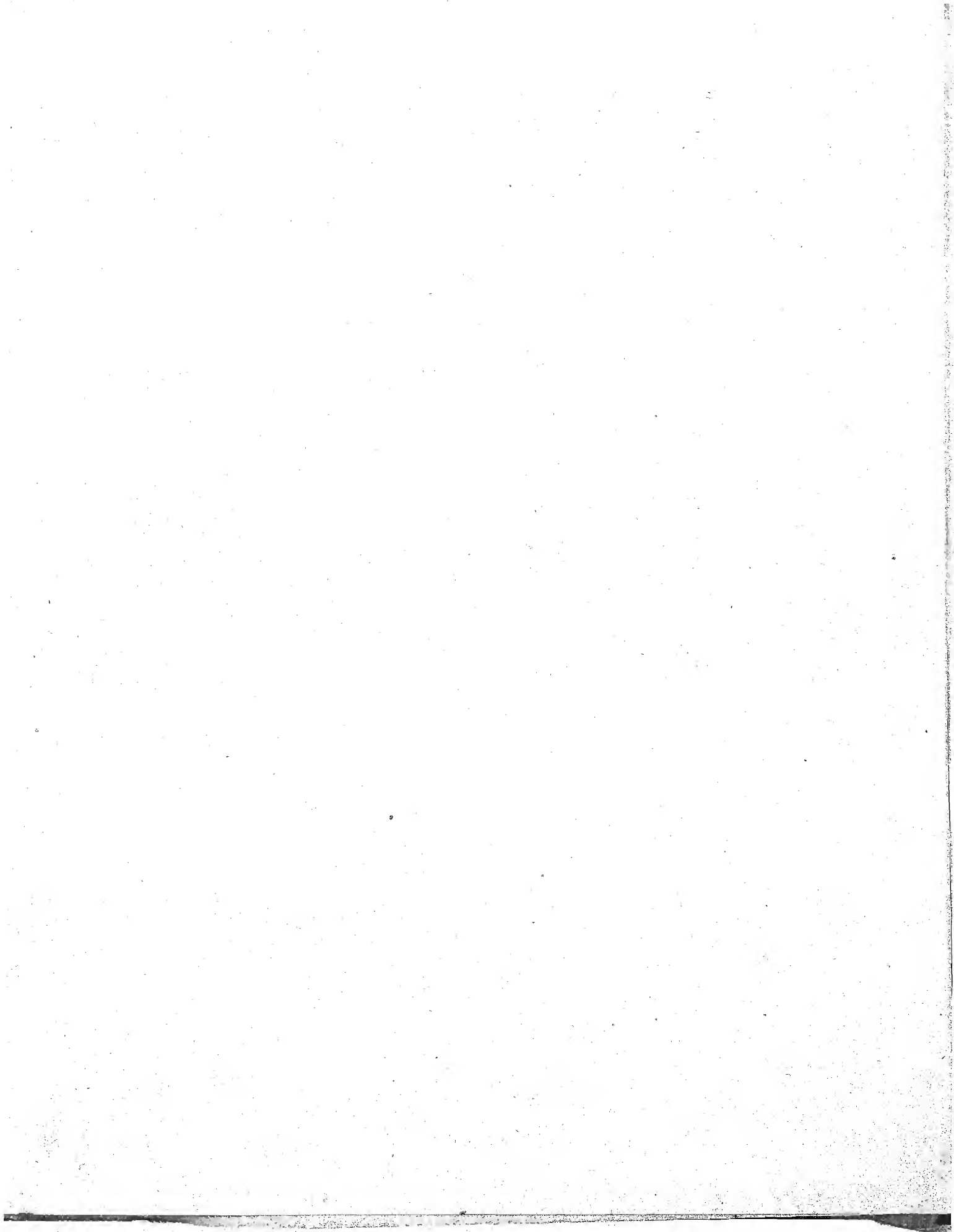
HIGH TIDE OF AXIS AGGRESSION · 4
MACKINDER'S IDEAS OF 1904 · 12
MACKINDER'S IDEAS OF 1943 · 14
CLIMATIC REGIONS · 31
WORLD POPULATION BLOCS · 34
MANUFACTURING REGIONS · 38
STRATEGIC RESOURCES OF THE WORLD · 39
THE FORTRESS OF EUROPE · 51
RUHR DISTRICT · 58
BERLIN-TO-BAGHDAD RAILROAD · 69
ATLANTIC OCEAN · 83
STEPPING STONES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC · 85
CARIBBEAN DEFENSES · 86
ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES ABROAD · 92
JAPANESE EMPIRE · 96
INDUSTRIAL HEART OF JAPAN · 97
JAPANESE CAMPAIGN IN MALAYA · 125
GEOPOLITICAL MAP OF SOVIET RUSSIA · 128
THE PINCERS TECHNIQUE · 135
THE CAUCASUS REGION · 136
SIXTEEN SOVIET SOCIALISTIC REPUBLICS · 141
THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH-EMPIRE: EASTERN HEMISPHERE · 144
THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH-EMPIRE: WESTERN HEMISPHERE · 145
PRE-WAR AIRLINES IN FRANCE · 171
FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA · 172
GEOPOLITICAL MAP OF ITALY · 174
THE ARCTIC MEDITERRANEAN · 182
ALASKA · 184
AIRLINE ROUTES OF THE UNITED STATES · 186



# Geopolitics

in Principle and Practice

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# PART ONE · GEOPOLITICS IN PRINCIPLE

## Chapter One · Definition and Scope of Geopolitics

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Continuous fighting has been in progress on the Asiatic front of the Second World War since hostilities began at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping, China on the night of July 7, 1937, when the Japanese attacked the Chinese. The European phase of the war had its beginning on the morning of September 1, 1939, when Adolf Hitler sent the forces of the Third Reich across the Polish frontier. The Asiatic and European phases were united in the world phase when Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. From that moment the conflict became truly global, involving all the inhabited continents and all the important oceans. However, the fighting on land has centered around the world island of Europe, Asia, and Africa. After Japan failed to defeat China, and Germany failed to defeat Russia in quick knock-out blows, the Axis powers sought to prevent China and Russia from receiving supplies from the Anglo-Saxon powers. At the high tide of Axis aggression the forces of the New Order in Europe were in the streets of Stalingrad and a few miles from Alexandria. The legions of the "New Order" in Greater East Asia extended from Kiska in the Aleutians to Guadalcanal in the Solomons and to Burma in southeastern Asia. (*Figure 1*) A distance of only 3,200 miles — part of it across turbulent India — separated Hitler from Hirohito. Only future historians can record how close the architects of the Master

Race and the pilgrims of the Divine Mission came to victory. On the other hand, China and the Soviet Union have utilized the geopolitical factor of defense in depth, while the United States and Great Britain have kept open the supply routes to Russia but not to China. The British and Americans have complete control of the world ocean except a part of the western Pacific and the northeastern sector of the Indian Ocean, which are controlled by Japan. Meanwhile the Anglo-Saxon powers have opened up second fronts — the Solomons, North Africa, and Italy, with every prospect of greater ones to come.

The battlefields of the Second World War, extending over oceans and continents, have aroused the interest of every American in geography. Guadalcanal, Stalingrad, and Bataan have become common words in the geographical vocabulary. The disposition of American forces on all the inhabited continents of the world has resulted in the appearance of an atlas in many an American home. The soldier from Minnesota may be sent to Alaska or Brazil, to Iceland or China. The coming problems of the peace will involve a consideration of physical, economic, and political geography. Boundaries will change; states may disappear; and sources of raw materials will be sought. The geographic aspect of international relations is very important both in these days of global war and in the coming days of world peace.

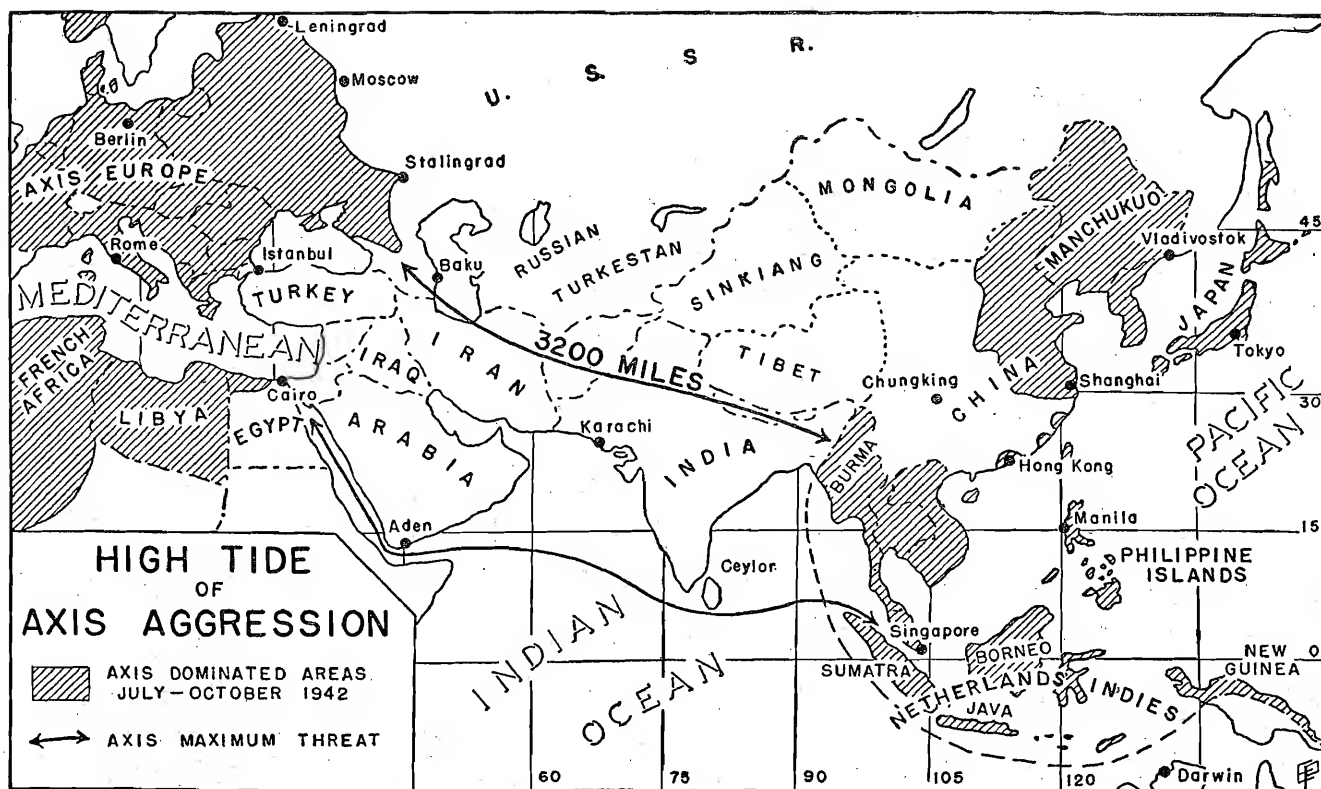


FIG. 1 • HIGH TIDE OF AXIS AGGRESSION • Allied supply lines to U.S.S.R. were menaced by this closing gap

Geopolitics is a new term to the average American as well as to the university man. The word "Geopolitik" was coined by a Swede, Rudolf Kjellen. Geopolitics is primarily concerned with a consideration of the political state in its geographical environment, but the study of neither geography nor political science alone is sufficient for the understanding of geopolitics. A knowledge of both the earth and the state are prerequisites.

There are two general interpretations of geopolitics at the present time. The narrow viewpoint is the German idea of space as the Lebensraum of the organic state. Major General Haushofer has stated: "Not by accident is the word 'Politik' preceded by that little prefix 'geo.' This prefix means much and demands much. It relates politics to the soil. It rids politics of arid theories and senseless phrases which might trap our po-

litical leaders into hopeless utopias. It puts them back on solid ground. Geopolitik demonstrates the dependence of all political developments on the permanent reality of the soil." This fundamental idea of German geopolitics is expressed in various definitions of the Geopolitical Institute at Munich such as: "Geopolitik is the doctrine of the power of the state on earth"; "Geopolitik is the doctrine of the earth relations of political developments"; "Geopolitics is the science which deals with the political organisms of space and their structure"; "Geopolitics is the scientific foundation of the art of political action in the life-and-death struggle of state organisms for Lebensraum." Clearly the German school of geopolitics leads to war.

A broader interpretation of geopolitics is the geographic study of the state from the viewpoint of foreign policy. Here the stress is placed on the geographic aspect of inter-

national relations. In a recent German radio broadcast geopolitics was defined as "the science of the relationship between space and politics which particularly attempts to show how geographical knowledge can be transformed into intellectual equipment for political leaders." However, this definition is accepted more by people outside the Reich than by the Munich school itself. The historic argument of the American isolationists based somewhat on the wide expanse of the Atlantic to the east and the Pacific to the west as well as the existence of weaker nations to the north and south has a geopolitical foundation. The possible struggle for air bases all over the world by the leading powers will involve the geopolitics of the future. The British acquisition through annexation or occupation of strategic areas in the Mediterranean — Gibraltar 1704, Malta 1800, Egypt 1882, and Cyprus 1878 — was geopolitical. The independence of Belgium and the Netherlands is due to the strategic location of those kingdoms in the proximity of Germany, France, and England. The foreign policy of the landlocked republic of Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) as an ally of Peru against Chile, and in the war with Paraguay (1932–1938) over the Gran Chaco is geopolitical. A glance at the present boundaries of Bolivia will indicate the victors in those South American wars. The peculiar boundary of the Pamirs separating India from the Soviet Union is a manifestation of geopolitical activity, as was Caprivi's Finger to the Zambezi River in the Southwest Africa of the Kaiser. Turkey as the guardian of the "Straits" occupies a highly significant geopolitical position in the power politics of any war. The drive of the Russians for a warm-water port, whether under the Tsarists or the Communists, is a fundamental geographic expression of Russian foreign policy. However, geopolitics is too

often associated with war and empire owing to the German influence. In reality geopolitics as the geographic study of the state from the viewpoint of foreign policy can lead to the geopolitics of peace.

The German writers on the subject consider their work scientific. Articles in the United States have been written about Haushofer's "scientists" scattered throughout the world to mass material for the use of Himmler's Gestapo, Goebbels' propaganda, and Ribbentrop's foreign policy. The articles in the "Zeitschrift für Geopolitik" claim a scientific foundation due to the collection, organization, and interpretation of data. Yet geopoliticians outside the Third Reich do not consider the teachings of the followers of Haushofer scientific. Many of the German writers simply ignore facts as they do not fit into the preconceived ideas of the Munich school. For instance, the articles on the United States are few because North America, despite its importance, was termed an outlying island. Geopolitics from a broad viewpoint is scientific only in so far as it seeks to study the geographical aspects of the state in an objective manner. Suggestions for the foreign policy of the state are always conditioned by the background and viewpoints of the individual.

The subject matter of geopolitics is derived chiefly from four sources: the academic subjects of political geography and history, and the specialized studies on imperialism and military, naval, and air strategy. Political geography is the father of geopolitics. As Major General Haushofer says: "Geopolitik grew out of political geography. It activates the latter's fund of knowledge and puts it at the service of the political leader." The difference between the two subjects is a matter of emphasis. Political geography considers the state in its material environment from the viewpoint of an objective analysis; geopolitics considers

the state in its physical setting from the viewpoint of its needs in the field of foreign policy. Otto Maull, a writer in the Institute at Munich, has clearly stated: "Geopolitik is concerned with the spatial requirements of a state while political geography examines only its space conditions." However, some authorities make little, if any, distinction between political geography and geopolitics.

The study of military, naval, and air strategy is another important source of geopolitics. Admiral Mahan is the leading authority on sea power, while General Clausewitz is a leading writer on land power. No person at the present time is as prominent in the field of air power, although Major Severisky is very frequently quoted. The geopoliticians are always drawing lessons from the military events of the past. The British naval victory in the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 enabled the Union Jack to fly over the world ocean. This was indicated by the burning of Washington in 1814 and the blockade of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, the Opium War with China in 1840-1842 with the subsequent acquisition of Hong Kong, the Crimean War of 1854-1856 against Russia with the naval raid at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula and the campaign for Sevastopol in the Crimea, the existence of the Indian Ocean in the 1800's as a British lake with the continual penetration into India, and the Boer War in South Africa, 1899-1902. Although the base of Great Britain was located far from the scene of these battles in America, Asia, and Africa, the British navy ruled the world ocean. The historic campaigns of Alexander of Macedon, Hannibal of Carthage, and Caesar of Rome present the lessons of land power. The fateful invasion of Russia by Emperor Napoleon of France in 1812 is one of the most quoted references in the writings of the Munich school of geopolitics. The expansion of Rus-

sia eastward to the Pacific and southward to central Asia was another manifestation of land power. The geopoliticians of air power are the newcomers in the field of strategy. They are especially interested in the possible development of the Arctic as an aerial Mediterranean. Some enthusiasts of air power look upon it as the means of defeating the enemy, and upon land power as the means of occupying his homeland. Needless to say, the lessons of the Second World War regarding land, sea, and air power provide fertile material for geopoliticians.

Geopolitics is more closely related to the study of imperialism. The drive for empire is a characteristic feature of Axis diplomacy since the rise of Fascism, Naziism, and "Japanism." The desire of the great colonial powers to keep their empires is natural on their part. The United States was the only world power granting independence to its subjects in the Far East, and the Filipino people were the only ones to resist actively the Japanese invaders in their drive to the South Seas. The motives of imperialism are many: the desire for sources of raw materials, markets for manufactured goods, outlets for surplus population, strategic bases in the world, prestige in the eyes of mankind, and economic self-sufficiency. A map of the world of 1919 indicates the results of imperialism from the political viewpoint. At least 140 Britains could be carved out of the British Empire; almost 60 kingdoms of the Netherlands could fit into her colonial domains; more than 20 French Republics could be placed in the French Empire. After the First World War less than four Japans could fit into her colonial empire; Italy even with Ethiopia was only about one twelfth the size of her colonial possessions; Germany was stripped of all her colonial areas. The imperialism of the Nazis and the Japanese is cloaked in the platitudinous verbiage of the New Orders in Europe and

Greater East Asia. The imperialism of the 1890's, when the European powers were partitioning Africa and acquiring bases in China, was somewhat different from the New Orders of the Twentieth Century. The imperialism of the Axis results in the complete political, economic, and even cultural enslavement of peoples regardless of their degree of civilization. On the other hand, the natives of Africa possessed a primitive civilization in most cases, while the hand of the conqueror was not so harsh as that of the present Nazis in Europe or the Japanese in China.

Finally geopolitics is closely related to history. Some geopoliticians interpret history as geography in action. Certainly the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates were suitable for river civilizations while the bridge between the two would have to be crossed by the conquerors of both valleys — the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Macedonians. In Germany the study of geography has acquired a position of importance, while in the United States geography has generally ended with the grammar grades. Many of the army programs in the American universities of the present are placing equal stress on history and geography. The elements of history are man, place, and time, while the elements of geopolitics are the earth and the state. The geopolitical interpretation of the present is based on the history of the past, while the geopolitical events of the future arise from the conditions of the present.

The word "state" is frequently used in geopolitics. This is the concept of the self-governing national state possessing the rights of sovereignty — not the idea of a state as used by Americans when they talk about the 48 states of the Union or by Australians when they refer to the six states of the Commonwealth. International relations arise from the contacts among the sovereign states of the earth. Since the interests of the sixty-

odd states vary to quite an extent, disputes frequently occur with the more violent ones resulting in war, the absence of peace. Although citizens within a state are required to settle their disputes by law, the states of the world have been generally unwilling to settle their controversies by submission to the decisions of an international body. The idea that necessity knows no law is frequently used by the state to justify its policy. The German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg on August 4, 1914 told the Reichstag that the invasion of Belgium was a "breach of international law," but "necessity knows no law." In spite of membership in the League of Nations, adherence to the Pact of Paris of 1928, and the Nine-Power Pact of Washington in 1922, Japan marched into Manchuria on September 18, 1931. Indeed, the Western World has known only one period of absolute peace — when it was united under the single sovereignty of Rome, a paramount power. Since states are unwilling to modify their international policies by international restraints, they seek to clothe their ideas with force. General Clausewitz has defined war as the "pursuit of policy by other means." The power of the state is usually expressed in peace time by armaments. The great powers are those states that have the ability to carry out their national policies throughout the world by force.

In view of the frequent clashes of the sovereign states and the growing smallness of the world because of technological advance, a war today between any two great powers is extremely likely to result in a world war. President Woodrow Wilson stressed the indivisibility of world peace in his project of the League of Nations. Two world wars in twenty-five years are proof of Woodrow Wilson's thesis. The states of the world in the Second World War are grouped as follows: the United Nations (thirty-three on Novem-



ber 1, 1943, based on declarations of war on one or more of the Axis powers) — Poland, Great Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, the United States, China, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, the Philippine Commonwealth, Brazil, Iraq, Ethiopia, Bolivia, and Iran; the Associated Nations (ten on November 1, 1943, based on severance of diplomatic relations with the Axis) — Egypt, Iceland, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Liberia; five states in special categories — France, Denmark, Italy, Portugal, and Saudi Arabia; seven " neutrals " — Argentina, Afghanistan, Turkey, Sweden, Eire, Switzerland, and Spain; and the states of the Axis — Germany, Japan, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Thailand, and the Axis creations of Slovakia, Croatia, Manchukuo, Burma, Wang Ching-wei's China, Albania, and Mussolini's Italian Republic.

Geopolitics is a dynamic study, although the geographic factor of international relations is the most permanent. The Mississippi River still flows to the Gulf of Mexico whether the flag of Spain, France, the Confederacy, or the United States flies over its muddy waters. The monsoons come and go in Burma whether British or Japanese strive to conquer the earth. States rise and fall in the strategic Near East regardless of the century. The Sahara Desert still forms a barrier whether Phoenician trader, Roman legionnaire, or French imperialist rule portions of the Mediterranean African coast line. The twenty-one miles of English Channel, from Dover to Calais, still exist to baffle the Napoleons of yesterday and today. The Rhine continues to flow from neutral mountainous Switzerland, along the embattled

river frontier of France and Germany, through the industrial heart of the Reich into the buffer state of the Netherlands and out to the North Sea.

The dynamic nature of geopolitics is found in the adjustment of the state to the natural environment. Poland, partly because of her lack of natural boundaries except for the Carpathians on the south, has been subjected to four partitions. In 1772 Russia, Prussia, and Austria seized slices of the kingdom; in 1793 Russia and Prussia acquired more areas; and in 1795 the kingdom disappeared with the partition of the rest among Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The reconstruction of the new Poland after the First World War was terminated by the fourth partition between Germany and Russia in 1939. The dynamic nature of geopolitics is also revealed in the German definition of frontiers as battlefields. To quite an extent the course of history would substantiate this conception. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 after the Thirty Years' War, the accords at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815 after the collapse of Napoleon, and the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 following the First World War centered to quite an extent around political boundaries. Major General Haushofer has often stressed the dynamic nature of geopolitics. He has stated: " We must, moreover, study Geopolitik with a view to the present and future rather than to the past. As a nation governed by lawyers, we Germans have been too much under the influence of the *lex lata*. We considered politics more in terms of dead history than of living science; we looked back rather than ahead. In this manner we lost contact with the future. Making retrospective instead of prophylactic politics, we were left out of the realignment of the world when it occurred at the turn of the century." The concept of peaceful change is one of the greatest problems



of the present. The geopolitics of war as revealed in the Munich school and the geopolitics of peace as envisioned by liberal geopoliticians are both dynamic. Change by "orderly processes" is essential in the political life of the state in its geographical environment.

Geopoliticians may be considered not only from the viewpoint of contributors to geopolitical theory like Ratzel and Mackinder, but also from the viewpoint of leadership in applied geopolitics. Theodore Roosevelt by his acquisition in 1903 of the Canal Zone across the Isthmus of Panama between the Atlantic and the Pacific and Benjamin Disraeli by his purchase for Great Britain in 1875 of a substantial portion of the shares of the Suez Canal Company may be called leaders in applied geopolitics. Cecil Rhodes, who planned to make England supreme from Cape to Cairo on the continent of Africa, may be called a geopolitician as well as Otto von Bismarck, who succeeded in

uniting Germany under one flag by successive wars with Denmark, Austria, and France without having to fight on two fronts. The leaders of the Axis countries have proved themselves well versed in the field of applied geopolitics. Mussolini's efforts to control the "waist" of the Mediterranean and to establish the Italian flag on the Indian Ocean are proof of his geopolitical interests. In 1939, when "Geopolitica," an Italian geopolitical magazine, was started, the Duce stated to the editor: "Geopolitics is much more than mere geography. I myself will be the most attentive and assiduous reader of your magazine." A Japanese prime minister, Baron Tanaka, is alleged to have presented to the Emperor in 1927 the geopolitical ideas of a New Order in Greater East Asia. Adolf Hitler not only in his conquest of most of Europe but also in his organization of the continent has carried out many of the teachings of the Munich school of geopolitics.

## Chapter Two · Evolution of Geopolitics

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Geopolitics evolved from political geography, which is a branch of geography. The breadth of geopolitics may be indicated by the nationalities and professions of the pioneers in the theoretical field. Many of them are political philosophers or professional geographers, while some of them lived before the word Geopolitik was coined. Heinrich von Treitschke, a German professor of history, urged the expansion of the Reich by military conquest while Friedrich Nietzsche, a student of the Darwinian theory, stressed the idea of a possible superman. Friedrich List, a German professor and friend of Henry Clay, was greatly impressed when he was visiting the United States, from 1825 to 1832, by the vast expanse of the republic in the New World and by the single customs unit under one flag. Alexander von Humboldt centered his interest in geography after he had studied many branches of natural science. Karl Ritter expanded the scientific study of geography, believing that history revealed how man adjusted himself to his environment. He was professor of geography at the University of Berlin in addition to being instructor at the Kriegsschule, or war college.

Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) developed political geography to a point where geopolitics could easily emerge. After studying the natural sciences and traveling in Europe and North America as a correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, he became professor of geography at the University of Leipzig. In 1896 he published in *Petermanns Mitteilungen* an article entitled "Die Gesetze des räumlichen Wachstums der Staaten" ("The Laws of the Territorial Growth of States"). Although Ratzel called himself a political

geographer, his followers interpreted his teachings as geopolitics. The seven laws of state growth are as follows:

1. "The space of states grows with Kultur." (As the population expands with the same cultural pattern, new territories occupied by these people enlarge the state.)

2. "The growth of states follows other manifestations of the growth of peoples, which must necessarily precede the growth of the state." (The idea of the flag following commercial expansion and missionary activity is considered valid.)

3. "The growth of states proceeds, to the degree of amalgamation, by the addition of smaller units." (The people and the soil must be welded together if the state is to be amalgamated.)

4. "The frontier is the peripheric organ of the state." (The frontier reflects not only the security of the state but also the growth of the state.)

5. "In their growth, states strive for the absorption of politically valuable sections." (These valuable sections may be plains, rivers, coastal regions, or areas rich in ores, oil, or food production.)

6. "The first impetus for territorial growth comes to primitive states from without." (The great states with Kultur bring their ideas to primitive peoples who through increasing population acquire the need of expansion.)

7. "The general tendency toward territorial annexation and amalgamation transmits the trend from state to state and increases its intensity." (The history of expansion would indicate that appetite grows through eating.)

Briefly Ratzel taught that the state was an organism with the biological necessity of growing by securing essential missing organs, if necessary, by force. The concept of *Lebensraum*, or space for living, preached by Major General Haushofer and practiced by Adolf Hitler, is closely related to the organic idea of the state taught by Ratzel. Indeed, Ratzel was a close friend of Haushofer's father. Ellen Churchill Semple, one of the most distinguished women geographers in the world, was a student of Ratzel in Germany. However, her books, "The Influences of Geographic Environment" and "The Geography of the Mediterranean Region," are devoted to a study of the influence of the environment on man.

Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) expanded the ideas of Ratzel and applied them to the international situation of his day. He was a pro-German Swede of the First World War and professor of political science at the University of Göteborg. His two books, significant in the development of geopolitical theory, are *Staten som Lifsförm* ("The State as a Form of Life"), 1916, and *Grundriss zu einem System der Politik* ("Foundations for a System of Politics"), 1920. Since the state is a living organism, the territory is its body; the capital and administrative center is the heart and lungs; the rivers, roads, and railroads are the arteries and veins; and the areas with raw materials and food necessary for growth are the limbs. Kjellen envisioned the rise of a great superstate in Europe under the control of Germany. He is the first geographer to use the word *Geopolitik*. The most important attribute of the state is power. The life of the state depends upon its soil, government, people, economy, and culture. The German editors of *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, borrowing heavily from Ratzel and Kjellen, have written their official definition of geopolitics as: "Geopolitik is the science dealing with the dependence of

political events upon the soil. It is based upon the broad foundations of geography, especially political geography, which is the doctrine of political organisms of space and their structure. . . . Geopolitik aims to furnish the armature for political action and guidance in political life. . . . Geopolitik must come to be the geographical conscience of the state."

Many of the original ideas of geopolitics are found in the writings of Sir Halford Mackinder, a prominent British geographer who was former Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, Professor of Geography at the University of London, and once Vice President of the Royal Geographical Society. The principal ideas of his thesis may be found in a brief article which was presented to the Royal Geographical Society in 1904 entitled "The Geographical Pivot of History." (Figure 2) In 1919, during the Paris Peace Conference, he published a book entitled "Democratic Ideals and Reality." The Anglo-Saxon nations paid little attention to the writings of Sir Halford Mackinder. Across the channel, however, Major General Haushofer read the material carefully and became convinced of the validity of the thesis. The events of the Second World War kindled at last an interest in Mackinder's ideas in the Anglo-American world. "Democratic Ideals and Reality" was reissued in April, 1942, just as it was written twenty-three years ago. Furthermore, in *Foreign Affairs* for July, 1943, the aged Sir Halford Mackinder reiterated his thesis with a few changes in his geopolitical organization of the world.

Mackinder has organized the earth from a realistic viewpoint. He has observed that nine twelfths of the globe is water while three twelfths is land. The unity of the oceans is better expressed by the world ocean than by the terms Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, Arctic, and Antarctic. Of the three

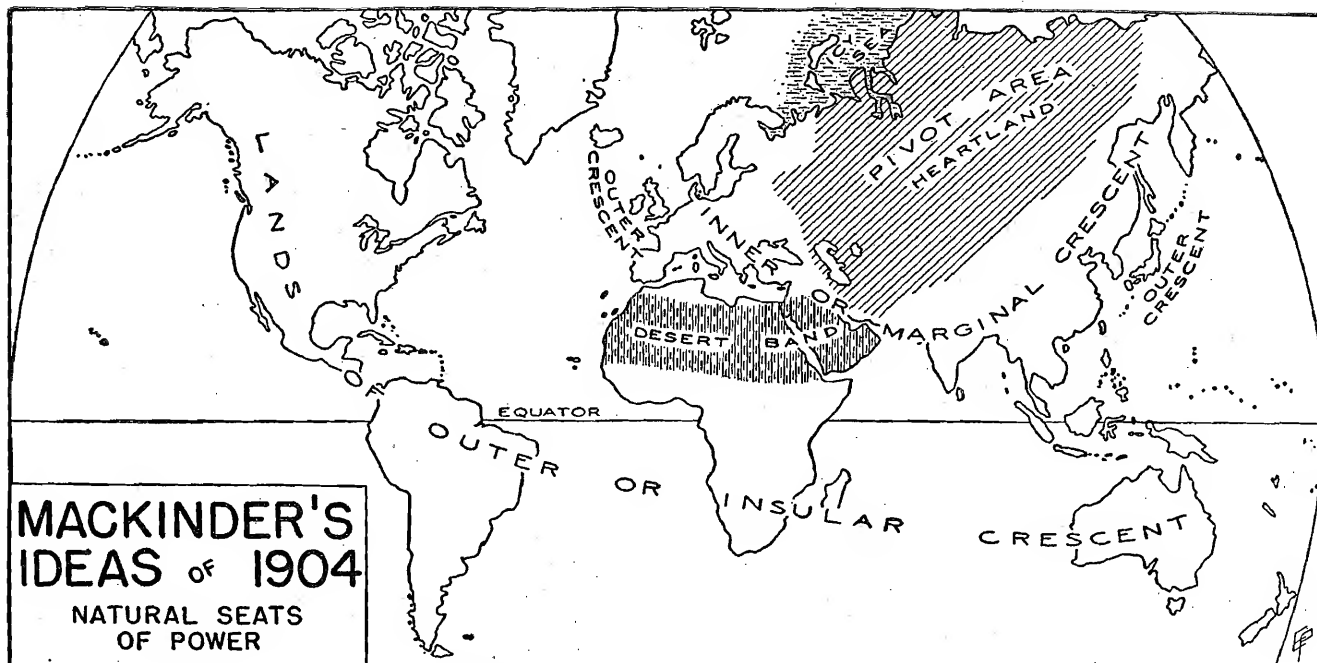


FIG. 2 · MACKINDER'S IDEAS OF 1904 · Mackinder's Heartland was supposed to have inspired modern German geopolitical strategy

twelfths of the land two twelfths is the world island consisting of Europe, Asia, and Africa, while the other one twelfth is largely North America, South America, and Australia. The concept of the world ocean is new to individuals who are used to thinking in terms of continents and oceans. Europe is really a peninsula of Asia, separated by the comparatively low Ural Mountains, just as India is a smaller peninsula of Asia separated by the lofty Himalaya Mountains. Africa faces Europe along a coast of 3,800 miles. The Dark Continent is actually united to Asia at Suez, is almost united at the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb off Aden in the Red Sea, and is separated from Europe by the narrow waters of the Strait of Gibraltar off southern Spain. Only 90 miles separate Cape Bon, where the Axis made its last stand in Africa, from the island of Sicily, where the Anglo-Americans made their first invasion of the "soft underbelly of Europe." The Mediterranean is well named from the Latin, a sea

in the middle of land — Europe, Asia, and Africa. Although the world island was a unity from the viewpoint of a land mass, men have lived chiefly along its edges. In the late 1400's men began to sail around its southern edges; in the 1800's they began to build railroads in its land mass; and in the 1900's they began to fly over the world island. Mackinder has noted that fourteen sixteenths of the world's population lived on the world island, almost one sixteenth lived on the offshore islands, and the other sixteenth in the outer islands of the Americas and Australia.

From the concept of the world island in the world ocean Mackinder turned to a consideration of the pivot area or heartland. The heartland extends from the Volga basin of Russia to eastern Siberia, a vast area of interior and arctic drainage. In the north, the long rivers of the Ob, Yenisei, and Lena drain into the Arctic, frozen most of the year. In the south the Syr and Amu rivers flow into the salty Lake Aral, while

the Volga and Ural rivers flow into the Caspian. The north, central, and west areas of the heartland are a vast plain called the great lowland, broken only by the Ural Mountains. The heartland also includes most of the Iranian upland in the southwest (Iran, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan) and part of the Mongolian uplands in the southeast. From a political viewpoint, the heartland is largely Russian, including most of Siberia and about half of European Russia, while Mongolia, western China, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Iran, except a narrow strip of coastline in the case of the last two, are included.

Sir Halford Mackinder envisioned another heartland of less importance which he called the southern heartland. This area consists of Africa south of the Sahara Desert, which forms one of the best natural barriers in the world as well as a barrier between the white and black man. The southern heartland is drained by the Niger, Zambezi, and Congo rivers as well as by smaller ones like the Orange and Limpopo, flowing from the tableland of the interior. The upland courses of these rivers are generally navigable for hundreds of miles, but not from the river mouths because of the waterfalls a few miles away. A similarity of the two heartlands also lies in the presence of forest and grassland. The connecting link between the two heartlands is the Bridge of Arabia. Mackinder pictures Arabia extending for 800 miles from the Nile to beyond the Euphrates and for 1800 miles from the foot of the Taurus Mountains to the Gulf of Aden. This is marked by three waterways — the Nile, the Red Sea, and the Euphrates River and Persian Gulf. From the viewpoint of communications by land the Bridge of Arabia affords a link between the northern and southern heartlands.

Around the northern heartland is the arc of the coastlands, defined as the areas of

drainage into the navigable seas. This area includes all Europe except western Russia, the Near East area of Asia Minor, and the monsoon coastland areas of Asia. The rivers are generally navigable from the ocean for some hundreds of miles, with the Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube, and the Yangtze as excellent examples. Both the European and the Asiatic monsoon coastlands have ample rainfall and fertile soil. The population of these areas is very dense in general — the teeming millions of China, India, and western Europe. The prewar world powers of France, Germany, and Italy were found in the coastland areas. Located right off the coastlands of western Europe and eastern Asia are the offshore islands, the British and Japanese homelands. When Mackinder wrote down his ideas in 1904 the British navy was the police force of the world ocean. Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan had recently written his book "The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783." No power in any part of the world ocean was able to challenge seriously the British navy. In addition to the offshore islands are the outlying ones, chiefly the Americas and Australia. The United States of America was the only one of the world powers in the outlying islands. As compared with the world island Mackinder placed little stress on the outlying islands.

From his geopolitical organization of the world Mackinder feared the potential strength of the heartland. In 1904 he stated: "The oversetting of the balance of power in favor of the pivot state, resulting in its expansion over the marginal lands of Euro-Asia would permit of the use of vast continental resources for fleet-building, and the empire of the world would then be in sight." If this idea were applied to the present day, the world island might become such a huge base for naval, land, and air power that the rest of the world might be over-

come. Mackinder was especially fearful lest Germany should get control of Russia. He noted that the vast lowland of the northern part of the heartland really extended into the plain of north Germany. There were no real natural barriers between the Reich and Russia. From the steppes of central Asia the horsemen of the past — the Turks and the Magyars — have invaded Europe. Why could not the direction of invasion be reversed? Would it not be possible for the Germans to move to the east? In time might not the heartland as an organized base accomplish the conquest of the world? Mackinder formulated a three-point thesis which became familiar to the Germans and later to the Anglo-Americans:

“Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;  
Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island;  
Who rules the World-Island commands the World.”<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not the whole thesis of Sir Halford Mackinder is valid is open to question. Nicholas J. Spykman of Yale, who was a profound student of world politics, indicated that whoever rules the coast line rules the world island, while Major George Fielding Eliot stated in the summer of 1942 that there is “no escape” from the logic of Mackinder’s conclusion.

In the summer of 1943, as Russia was proving her continued military strength and the United States was showing her increasing power, Sir Halford Mackinder wrote down again his ideas on geopolitics. (Figure 3) He reiterated his faith in the heartland idea as “more valid and useful today than it was either 20 or 40 years ago,” although he excluded Lenaland from the heartland. He admitted that the Arctic shores are no longer inaccessible on account of the use of large ice-breakers and the development of aviation. The British geographer indicated that the fulcrum of world power exists from the Missouri River to the

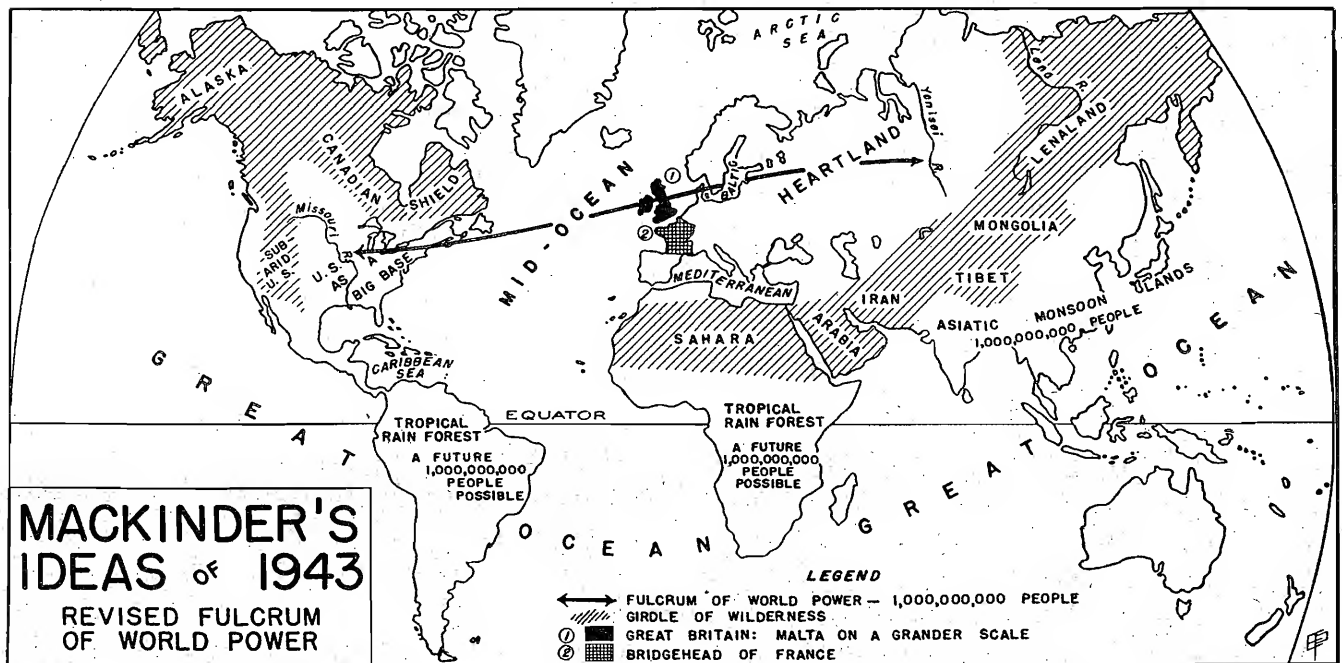


FIG 3 · MACKINDER'S IDEAS OF 1943 · Modern developments caused Mackinder to enlarge his pivot area

<sup>1</sup>Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (New York, 1942), 150.



Yenisei. In this way he recognized the increasing role of the United States in world affairs. The north Atlantic was termed the midland ocean with Britain as a "Malta on a grander scale," France as a defensible bridgehead, and America as a huge base with defense in depth. Germany could be kept in check after the war through the fear of having to fight both the heartland represented by Russia and the lands of the midland ocean, the United States, France, and Britain. Mackinder visualized round the earth a girdle of wilderness and desert including the Sahara, Arabian, Iranian, Tibetan, and Mongolian deserts and the wilderness of Lenaland, Alaska, and the Canadian Shield. Within the girdle are the heartland and the midland ocean with its four subdivisions: the Mediterranean, Baltic, Arctic, and Caribbean seas. Outside the girdle is the great ocean consisting of the Pacific, the Indian, and the South Atlantic, with the lands that drain into it: South America, Australia, Africa south of the Sahara, and the Asiatic monsoon areas. The British geographer foresaw the possibility of a thousand million people in the tropical rain-forests of South America and Africa if medicine could render the tropics as productive as the temperate zones. At present the thousand million people of the monsoon lands of India and China balance the thousand million people who live between the Missouri and the Yenisei.

Major General Professor Doctor Karl Haushofer studied the writings of Sir Halford Mackinder very carefully. Karl Haushofer was born in Bavaria in 1869. In 1908-1909 he served as an artillery instructor in Japan, where he acquired a knowledge not only of the Japanese people but also of the Pacific Ocean. In later life one of his most famous books was *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans* ("The Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean"). Indeed, in 1911, he received his doctorate from the University of Munich

with his dissertation written on Japan. During the First World War he became a Major General in the Kaiser's army, with Rudolf Hess as an aide-de-camp. When Haushofer returned to civilian life he sought to discover the reasons for the collapse of Imperial Germany. In 1918 he taught geography and military history at the University of Munich, where he became a professor in 1920. Very shortly he founded the Institut für Geopolitik in Munich, the *fons et origo* of the subject. In 1924, the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* began the publication of Haushofer's geopolitical ideas. Haushofer met Hitler while the Führer was in jail at the Landsberg fortress in 1923, engaged in writing *Mein Kampf*. Rudolf Hess, an intimate friend of Hitler and a student of Haushofer, brought the two men together. After the advent of the Third Reich the Nazis subsidized the work of the Geopolitical Institute, while Haushofer became the President of the German Academy in 1934.

The general work of Haushofer covers several aspects. In the first place, the Institute gathered data to support Haushofer's ideas, which were based to a great extent upon Mackinder. Haushofer, in his articles, appealed to the intelligentsia of the Reich, while Hitler appealed more to the German masses. Furthermore, the research of the Munich Institute conducted by its "scientists" throughout the world provided valuable material for the various government agencies of Germany. The Institute was especially good in its material on South America, thanks to the wings of the Nazi Trojan horse, while North America was generally neglected. Since the Treaty of Versailles, ending the First World War, had abolished the German General Staff, the Geopolitical Institute at Munich performed much of the work of a general staff during the 1920's and early 1930's. The military campaigns of Adolf Hitler found invaluable

material in the work of Haushofer. Finally, the influence of the Master is very evident in the foreign policy of the Nazis up to the invasion of Russia. Many of the publications in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* presaged Nazi action abroad. The approaching end of the Third Reich will raise a problem of the future of the Geopolitical Institute. However, it may be said that no direct connection exists between the Institute at Munich and the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin.

The personal relationship between Haushofer and Hitler is very limited. Haushofer is a Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Munich, a major general of the Kaiser's army, and a distinguished geographer; Hitler has never attended a university, was a corporal in the Great War, and had no particular claim to early distinction. After the First World War both men concentrated their efforts at Munich, one in politics, the other in geopolitics. Although Haushofer met Hitler while the latter was writing *Mein Kampf*, no intimate friendship ever developed. Yet Chapter Fourteen of *Mein Kampf* reflects the influence of Haushofer on Hitler, especially regarding the importance of space. Since Haushofer's wife was not a pure "Aryan," he could not be numbered among the National Socialists. Although he became President of the German Academy in 1934, the fate of Haushofer is not necessarily bound to that of Hitler. Even if the Geopolitical Institute should be forced to close its doors with the collapse of the Reich, the teachings of geopolitics will survive.

Nowhere in Haushofer's writing is there a clear, systematic outline of geopolitics as he conceives it. Contrary to some statements, the Munich school has not outlined a clear plan for the conquest of the United States. The publications of Haushofer are very numerous. In addition to the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* under his editorship, and the Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean

already mentioned, are the following important publications: *Geopolitik der Selbstbestimmung* ("Geopolitics of Self-Determination"), 1923; *Grenzen* ("Frontiers"), 1922; *Wehr-Geopolitik* ("Military Geopolitics"), 1932; *Weltpolitik von heute* ("World Politics of Today"), 1934; and *Weltmeer und Weltmächte* ("World Oceans and World Powers"), 1934. He is the editor of *Jenseits der Grossmächte* ("Beyond the Great Powers"), 1932, and *Macht und Erde* ("Might and Earth"), 1935. His chief assistants in the geopolitical school at Munich are his son Albrecht, Erich Obst, Wulf Siewert, Otto Maull, Josef Marz, and Gustav Fochler-Hauke.

The ideas of the Major General may be roughly summarized under three headings: his general teachings, his military geopolitics, and his reflections on the important states of the earth. First of all, Haushofer was impressed by the value of space. "Space," he says, "governs mankind's history." Ratzel had previously stated that "The decay of every state is the result of a declining space conception." Haushofer was convinced that a nation must expand or perish. This implied the end of small states with the rise of gigantic states in the future. All German geopoliticians support Haushofer in his viewpoints on space. Professor Ewald Banse, at the Brunswick Technical College, wrote a book entitled *Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg* ("Space and People in the World War"). The translation of the book in England under the title "Germany Prepares for War" caused considerable discussion in 1934. Professor Banse was quietly promoted to Chief of the Technical Section of the German General Staff. Haushofer had considerable respect for the idea of the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere as a possible model for a Monroe Doctrine in Germany's share of the world's space. The geopoliticians even envisioned the rise of three superstates



— the United States in the Western Hemisphere, Japan in East Asia, and Germany in Europe, Africa, and the heartland.

The idea of population pressure was used as a propaganda device by the Munich school. Haushofer himself did not even believe that Japan was overpopulated. He did believe that space should be mastered "anthropo-geographically." For instance, Hawaii was in the process of being lost to the United States because of eventual Japanese mastery of the islands "anthropo-geographically." Some of the geopolitical enthusiasts thought of population pressure purely from the viewpoint of space and population. For example, Australia, as large as continental United States, was considered capable of supporting a population of 220 millions. They forgot that the problem of population pressure is very complex, involving the size of the area, the natural resources, the development of these resources, the number of people and the rate of increase, and the standard of living. However, the German geopoliticians were primarily interested in the propaganda aspect of population pressure.

The concept of the organic state developed by Ratzel and Kjellen was generally accepted by the Major General. The German state was diagnosed and its proper geographical space (Raum) determined in accordance with the situation (Lage) at the time. The resulting prescription was Lebensraum, the space necessary for the life and development of the German people. Lin Yu-t'ang has even defined geopolitics as the science of "blood and soil." A popular novel in Germany after 1926 was *Volk ohne Raum* ("People without Space"), the fight of a German settler in southwest Africa against the "imperialism" of the British.

Another favorable topic of discussion among the geopoliticians was the idea of autarky or economic self-sufficiency. Ger-

many was urged to become self-sufficient; eventually Germany's share in the world was to become self-sufficient. The geopoliticians realized the importance of economic control as a vital weapon in penetration. Otto Maull has stated "Complete economic penetration has the same effect as territorial occupation."

The Munich school has listed certain geopolitical manometers or symptoms of pressure within a state. For example, the location of a capital is an indication of the state's inner stability. The Russian capital has been moved from the old city of St. Petersburg to Moscow as a better location in view of possible enemies. The Nazi siege of Leningrad revealed the wisdom of the Communist regime in moving the capital. The Turkish capital has been moved from Istanbul on the European side of the straits to Ankara in the Anatolian highlands of Asia Minor. The defense of Ankara is much easier than the defense of Istanbul in European Turkey. According to Haushofer, the new Australian capital of Canberra is well located, for the possibility exists that New Zealand may become a part of an Anzac federation. The location of Paris as the capital of France is a factor of tremendous psychological importance. Whenever Paris has fallen in recent history France has collapsed. After the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, Paris was occupied by the Allies; in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 Paris was taken by the Germans; in the Second World War the city fell in the summer of 1940. In the First World War the Germans came within a short distance of Paris in 1914, but they were checked at the battle of the Marne. Paris was saved; France held.

Another geopolitical manometer according to Haushofer is urbanization. This results in diminishing "soil mastery," a decline in the birth rate, and a military liability in wartime. A large population with

an increasing birthrate, a complete unity of blood and soil, and the proper balance of the rural and urban areas are essential for a strong state. A third geopolitical manometer is an area where the power lines of rival states conflict. For example, the Philippine Islands reflect the attitudes of the United States and Japan. When the Japanese were in an expansive mood the Filipinos were more loyal to the United States; but when the Japanese were more interested in domestic problems the Filipinos were more eager to gain complete independence.

The second general class of Haushofer's teachings is Wehr-Geopolitik, or Military Geopolitics. The Major General stresses the fact that military power depends upon an army, a navy, and an air force. He remarks that: "It is still the infantryman who decides the fight by taking possession of the space." As regards seapower, he says: "The most decisive of all world political trends is the drive of a nation toward the sea." Since the command of the seas is necessary for military success on a world scale, the Kaiser made a serious mistake in not using his fleet offensively. In the Second World War Hitler has used his navy only in one campaign — the invasion of Norway. Haushofer is not so enthusiastic about air power as is Major Seversky: The German interprets air power as a supplement to sea and land power. The home base is very important both as an air base and as a target for enemy bombs. In his writings the Major General stresses continentalism versus oceanism. Continental boundaries may end state growth, but the sea opens the coasts all over the world. He has stated that Germany must not make the mistake of being only a land power.

Haushofer believes that base points are yielding their importance to base areas. Gibraltar as a base point does not possess the importance of Spain as a base area. Singa-

pore, an island off the Malay Peninsula, would not possess the importance of all southeastern Asia. He stated as early as 1939 that Singapore in his judgment was vulnerable from land. The mere ownership of the Suez area itself would have no value if Egypt and Palestine were not controlled by the same power. Hong Kong had little value to the British even before Pearl Harbor, while Penang off the western coast of British Malaya possessed no strategic importance by itself.

Haushofer also states that small areas aid attack while large areas aid defense. This is well shown when the Dutch, despite valiant fighting, were quickly conquered, while the Russians were able to defend themselves in their vast space. Furthermore, he adds that Germany should never fight on two fronts. The bitter memories of the First World War with the Russian forces on the east from 1914 to 1917 and the Anglo-American-French forces on the west remained in his mind. As a student of history he believed that Germany should not take the initiative in declaring war. He knew that the stigma of aggression might be attached to this step. In the Second World War the only initial declaration of war by Adolf Hitler was his proclamation of war on the United States. Haushofer also taught that space in war time must be mastered completely. No guerrillas, such as appeared in China after the disastrous efforts of the Japanese armies to subject the land, should be possible. Finally Haushofer believed that cities should not be captured by frontal assaults, but they should be cut off from all their sources of supply if possible. The bitter battle of Stalingrad must remain in the mind of the Master.

Haushofer, in his writings, adopted a very realistic attitude toward the leading powers of the world. He referred to Russia as the "pirates of the steppe" and to Great Britain as the "pirates of the seas." He believed

that Russia was an agglomeration of racial minorities that should be broken into its component parts, such as the Ukraine, the Volga area, and the Baltic region. The Napoleonic invasion of Russia is the most quoted case history in German geopolitics. The Russo-German non-aggression pact of August, 1939, was probably preferred by Haushofer to the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Toward England, Haushofer adopted the belief that the British Empire was decaying. He cited as evidence the rise of rival navies, the growing independence of the dominions, and the inevitable loss of base points in case of war. He believed that Germany should fight Britain after France and Russia were under German control. Haushofer was convinced that France was biologically and politically stagnating. He stated that France would fall into German hands with little or no fighting. The great geopolitician paid little attention to Italy, considering her of little real importance. Since the United States did not fit into Haushofer's scheme of geopolitics, little mention was made of the North American republic. Haushofer did state on one occasion that the United States was the only geopolitically mature country. In 1937 he significantly remarked: "We cannot yet predict where the United States is going to meddle. Europe, Asia, or Africa may have to pay the bill. Most signs, however, point to the Pacific." In 1941 Haushofer remarked: "The German people as a whole have few pleasant memories of the United States. The less they see and hear of her the better." In his attitude toward Japan, Haushofer advocated an alliance between Berlin and Tokyo. He believed that the United States and Japan would eventually fight over the British, Dutch, and French possessions in the Pacific. On the other hand, he recognized the possibility that Germany might have to fight Japan. The final

battle for world mastery would be fought in the Pacific. Haushofer believed that China could be used against Great Britain and the United States. He was greatly disturbed by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937 as he desired peace between the two countries. Haushofer pictured a vast aggregation of Germany, Russia, China, and Japan working as a unit under the influence of Berlin.

The Japanese expressions of geopolitics do not have the prestige of the Institute at Munich. Furthermore, there is no man who corresponds to Major General Haushofer. However, the Tanaka Memorial has been mentioned as a Japanese expression of geopolitical expansion. On July 25, 1927, Baron Tanaka is supposed to have presented a Memorial of 10,000 words to the Emperor. The document made public by the Chinese was quickly called a forgery by the Japanese. The Chinese themselves have not asserted in an unequivocal manner that the document is completely authentic, although they believe that it has a Japanese origin. The inability of the Memorial to die and the events of recent years in the Pacific indicate that the Tanaka Memorial may not be a complete forgery. Robert Aura Smith, a reputable writer on the Far East, believes that if the document is a forgery some Chinese is the greatest prophet since Isaiah. It is possible that the Memorial represents the findings of a Far-Eastern Conference of Japanese officials to see how far officialdom could be counted upon to support the government in a "positive policy" in Manchuria.

Many portions of the Memorial seem close to reality in 1942:

"For the sake of self-protection as well as the protection of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of 'Blood and Iron.'

But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States, which has been turned against us by China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future, if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States, just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by the Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence. . . ."

In April, 1940, Rear Admiral Joseph K. Taussig testified before the House Naval Affairs Committee that he considered the Memorial authentic. The Navy Department disavowed the admiral's opinion, while the Japanese Embassy in Washington listed six discrepancies in the text, calling it a "forgery" and "spurious." Among the errors were the points that the Emperor Taisho could not have called a conference with Prince Yamagota in 1922 because the latter was dead, and that the daughter of General Fukushima could not have been sent as an adviser to a Mongol prince because she was never in Mongolia. However, the real origin of the Tanaka Memorial remains in doubt.

An interesting expression of Japanese geopolitical thought came in a series of lectures by Sunekichi Komaki, Professor of Geography at Kyoto Imperial University, shortly after the fall of Singapore. Although he was not a spokesman for the government, he used a government radio in his broadcasts, and he is a representative of a government

university. Professor Komaki made the following statements in one of his lectures:

"When Columbus arrived . . . there were Indians living in this new country, which was thought to be part of India. It was part of Asia, in the original sense. It is obviously reasonable for us to call America the Eastern Asia continent. . . . Europe occupied Australia only a few centuries ago. There were one million natives living in this country. . . . They were Asiatic people. Even Europeans recognize Australia as part of Asia. We will call this the Southern Asia Continent. . . . The area north of the Mediterranean and west of the Black Sea was considered to be Europe. However, as you know by the map, it is only a part of Asia. . . . Therefore, Europe is also part of Asia. . . . Africa is also a part of Asia. In ancient Greece it was thought to be a part of the Asiatic continent. The Mediterranean was accepted as the western boundary of the Asiatic continent. . . . The Pacific Ocean is part of Asia. . . . The Atlantic is also part of Asia. . . . There are no seven seas. There is only one sea and it is connected with Japan, where the sun is rising. All waters are connected to Japanese waters. All the oceans are henceforth to be recognized as the Great Japanese Sea."

The co-operation of both the Germans and the Japanese in dividing the world into vast regions under their control was a development of the geopolitics of both countries. This development represents a gradual evolution of geopolitical thought regarding the world of Hitler and Hirohito. The Three-Power Pact of September 27, 1940, states in its preamble:

"The Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan consider it the prerequisite of a lasting peace that every nation in the world

shall receive the space to which it is entitled. They have, therefore, decided to stand by and co-operate with one another in their efforts in Greater East Asia and the regions of Europe respectively. In doing this it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things, calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned.

"It is, furthermore, the desire of the three governments to extend co-operation to nations in other spheres of the world who are inclined to direct their efforts along lines similar to their own for the purpose of realizing their ultimate object, world peace."

This auspicious statement clearly defines the two "spheres" of the Axis-Greater East Asia and Europe. The "other spheres of the world" probably refer to the United States and the Soviet Union, with both of which the Axis was at peace in September, 1940. Official statements by German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, Italian Foreign Minister Count Ciano, and Japanese Ambassador Kurusu stressed the geographic concept of the New Order.

As far as the role of Germany in Europe was concerned, the Führer stated on January 30, 1941:

"I am convinced that 1941 will be the crucial year of a great new order in Europe. The world shall open up for everyone. Privileges for individuals, the tyranny of certain nations and their financial rulers shall fall. And last of all this year will help to provide the foundations of a real understanding among peoples, and with it the certainty of conciliation among nations."

On April 10, 1941, *Facts in Review*, the German propaganda magazine in the United States, published a map illustrating the four principal industrial centers of the world and

their respective natural spheres of interest. This map showed the United States as dominant in the Western Hemisphere, Germany and Italy in Europe and Africa, Japan in Greater East Asia from India to Australia, and the Soviet Union in its realm. The map is undoubtedly indicative of the German interpretation of regionalism in the spring of 1941. Along with this example of propaganda the Nazis added: "German diplomacy does not look upon nations as passive in the international chess game, but as living entities within regions clearly defined by economic and geo-political factors."

The Fascists of Italy have frequently expressed their views on the regional organization of the world. In the same month that the Nazi *Facts in Review* was outlining the new world, the Italian Library of Information asserted:

"While Continental Europe and North Africa, the two Americas, and Asia are developing self-contained economic systems, a process of economic disintegration has started in the British Empire whose component parts are being drawn towards the major economic groups to which they belong geographically."

The "heirs to the Roman Empire" modestly assert:

"Europe is now moving towards a new form of economic organization, which will center around two groups of countries, one heading up to Rome, the other to Berlin. . . . The formation of larger economic areas together with the formation — under diverse forms — of new political groupings, will be the means for securing a wider breathing space for the economies of the several countries belonging to these areas, and a wider field of action for individual producers."

The Japanese have demanded their equal

share in the regional organization of the world. Hachiro Arita, a prominent spokesman of Tokyo, wrote in January, 1941:

"From the standpoint of Japan, a Greater East Asia — including the South Seas region — must constitute one of these regional blocs. The various regions of East Asia are geographically, historically, racially, and economically so closely related that they are naturally destined to aid and minister to one another's needs and thus attain the coexistence and common prosperity which is essential to the successful practice of a regional bloc."

In the fateful reply of the Japanese Government to the United States' note of November 26, 1941, the Japanese stated on December 7:

"It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace and thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world. . . . However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted to every possible measure to assist the Chungking regime so as to obstruct the establishment of a just peace between Japan and China, interfering with Japan's constructive endeavor toward the stabilization of East Asia."

The phrases "immutable policy," "stability of East Asia," "proper place," and "just peace" occur in rhetorical monotony in Japan's version of her sphere of the world.

Both the Japanese and the Germans have stated that they recognize the regional aspects of the Western Hemisphere. Herr Hitler, as late as January 30, 1941, remarked at the Sportpalast: "Germany has never claimed any interests on the American continent, apart from the fact that Germans took part in the struggle for the liberation of

that continent." In April, 1939, in response to President Roosevelt's appeal for a German and Italian guarantee of thirty-one European and Near Eastern states, the German chancellor told the Reichstag:

"And I here solemnly declare that all the assertions which have been circulated in any way concerning an intended German attack or invasion on or in American territory are rank frauds and gross untruths, quite apart from the fact that such assertions, as far as the military possibilities are concerned, could have their origin only in a stupid imagination."

On June 14, 1940, the Führer said to American newspaper men that "The manner in which the American continent shapes its life is of no interest to us. That holds true not only for North America but equally so for South America . . . 'America for the Americans; Europe for the Europeans.'" In addition, Herr Hitler told John Cudahy, former American ambassador to Belgium, in an interview on May 23, 1941, that a German invasion of America was as fantastic as an invasion from the moon.

Many Japanese spokesmen have recognized the regional aspects of the New World, demanding that the United States recognize a Japanese Monroe Doctrine which they assert is molded on the American Monroe Doctrine. For instance, Hikomatsu Kamikawa has stated: "The Monroe Doctrine is an effective manifestation of regionalism as against universalism. The United States, which conceived this idea, is really the originator of regionalism, which Japan is striving at present to establish in East Asia by following the example of that country." Other Japanese, commenting on the attitude taken by the United States regarding the areas in the New World whose motherlands have been overrun in the present World War,



argued that if these possessions of defeated European powers are left to the consultation of the Pan American states, a similar territorial disposal of conquered China should be granted to Japan.

From a geographical viewpoint many prominent Americans have recognized the Western Hemisphere as a regional unit. An official publication of the Pan American Union asserts:

"Numerous physical characteristics set off the American Continent from the other continents of the world. Among these may be mentioned its detached position from the other four continents of the world. Whereas Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia are crowded into one hemisphere, America occupies the Western Hemisphere in solitary grandeur, separated from the rest of the land portions of the world by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

However, the occupation of Iceland by American troops on July 7, 1941, led to considerable discussion concerning the exact limits of the Western Hemisphere. The President of the United States in a press conference stated that the definition depended upon the geographer with whom one talked last.

Until December 7, 1941, the three great regional units which the Axis was willing to recognize were Greater East Asia, Europe, and the New World. From August 23, 1939, to June 22, 1941, Herr Hitler's followers frequently spoke of the Soviet Union as a fourth great region. Prior to September 3, 1939, the Nazis had often intimated that the British Empire was a fifth regional unit. The German leaders, however, have been quite consistent in their attitude toward France and Italy. The former should be crushed, while the latter should become a subordinate partner of Berlin.

Geographically the Soviet Union would easily fit into the Nazi conception of regionalism. Russia is a continent in herself, spanning Europe and Asia with a civilization of the East and the West. Adolf Hitler's attitude toward the Kremlin has changed frequently in the last decade. In *Mein Kampf* he had written:

"But if we talk about new soil and territory in Europe today, we can think primarily only of Russia and its vassal border states. . . . The end of Jewish dominion in Russia will also be the end of the Russian state itself. . . . We have been chosen by Fate to be the witnesses of a catastrophe which will be the most powerful substantiation of the correctness of the folkish theory of race."

At Nuremberg, in September, 1936, the Führer told his audience: "If I had the Ural Mountains with their incalculable store of treasures in raw materials, Siberia with its vast forests, and the Ukraine with its tremendous wheat fields, Germany and the National Socialist leadership would swim in plenty." But the struggle of *Machtpolitik* threw the Nazis of the Wilhelmstrasse and the Communists of the Kremlin into the same political boat from August 23, 1939, to June 22, 1941. On the former date the two totalitarian powers signed the famous non-aggression pact stating:

"The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from any act of violence, and aggressive action or any attack against one another whether individually or jointly with other powers."

Hitler had signed an agreement with those whom he had characterized as "blood-stained, low criminals" and "the scum of humanity." For several months the Führer

praised the treaty with Russia, taunting Winston Churchill, lauding Soviet-German relations, and grandly disclaiming any intent in the Ukraine. But within twenty-two months of the Russo-German non-aggression treaty, Hitler was sending his legions into Russia, asserting that the Soviets had "miserably betrayed" the stipulations of the pact. Foreign Commissar Molotov of the Soviet Union promptly characterized the invasion as "perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilized nations." The German attack on Russia meant the end of the Nazi conception of the U.S.S.R. as one of the major regional units of the world.

The Nazi idea of the British Empire as the fifth regional unit may be largely due to Hitler's respect for the accomplishments of the British peoples in the First World War. Certainly the far-flung areas under the Union Jack do not fit into the pattern of a geographical unit. In *Mein Kampf* the Führer states: "To gain England's favour no sacrifice should have been too great." In April, 1939, after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the Chancellor asserted:

"I have never left room for any doubt of my belief that the existence of this [British] Empire is an estimable factor of value for the whole of human cultural and economic life. . . . Now, there is no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon people have accomplished immeasurable colonizing work in the world. For this work I have sincere admiration."

On the other hand, the Chancellor was constantly comparing the population and the size of the British Empire with Germany. ". . . 46,000,000 Englishmen have subdued nearly one-fourth of the world while 88,000,000 Germans, because of their virtue, must live at a rate of 140 to one square kilometer." Toward the end of the negotiations in Berlin over the Polish question, Herr Hitler offered Great Britain, through Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador to Germany, an alliance, personally pledging himself for the continued existence of the British Empire. Of course, the quid pro quo was a settlement of the Polish question favorable to the Reich. The outbreak of war between Germany and Britain led to the end of the Nazi idea of the latter as one of the major regional units of the world.

To sum up, the Axis thought of the world divided into regions largely on the basis of geography, with the exception of the British Empire. The five major regions were Europe under Berlin and Rome, Greater East Asia under Tokyo, the Western Hemisphere under Washington, and the political units of the U.S.S.R. and the British Empire. The outbreak of war with Great Britain on September 3, 1939, the opening of hostilities with Russia on June 22, 1941, and the declaration of war on the United States in December, 1941, left the whole world subject to the victory of the sword. However, the power at the disposal of Washington, London, and Moscow meant the doom of Berlin and Tokyo.



## Chapter Three · The Prime Factors of Geopolitics

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In 1939 seven world powers ruled the greater part of the earth: the United States, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the British Commonwealth-Empire, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. In terms of natural resources the first four belong to the "have" group of states and the last three to the "have-not" group. France received her mortal blow in 1940, and Italy collapsed in 1943. Germany entered the company of "have" nations after her conquest of most of Europe, and Japan joined this group after the conquest of her empire in the South Seas. However, the resources of the Japanese Empire of 1943 are superior in terms of self-sufficiency to those of Hitler's Europe. Eventually Germany and Japan will fall before the combined efforts of the United Nations. Only three world powers will remain: the United States, the Soviet Union, and the British Commonwealth-Empire. Although China is considered among the Big Four of the Allied Camp, there is considerable question regarding her emergence as a great power, at least in the immediate future.

The elements forming the basis of the world power of a state are sixfold: location, size and shape, climate and climatic energy, population and manpower, natural resources and industrial capacity, and social and political organizations. These elements will be discussed in this sequence although no attempt is made to rank them in their order of importance as a basis for world power. Each specialist in his own field might tend to consider his own subject the most important factor of the state. However, all of them are essential for world power.

### LOCATION

The location of a state may be expressed with reference to astronomical factors, to land and water, to central or marginal accessibility, or to strategy in terms of land, sea, and air bases. Astronomical location is the latitude and longitude of a given place. Longitude east and west of the prime meridian at Greenwich, England, is less important than the latitude north and south of the equator, since latitude is one of the chief controls of climate. All the seven world powers had a location in the middle latitudes. In the low latitudes white men can prosper only on the plateaus where altitude provides a cooler climate. Location in the high latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere may acquire more strategic significance with the development of air routes across the Arctic.

Location with reference to land and water bears a close relationship to the defensive and offensive strategy of the state. In general, continental countries develop armies while maritime states build up navies. Russia is chiefly a land power, whereas Britain is essentially a sea power. However, the location of the British Isles very near the European mainland and of Japan close to the Asiatic mainland has led to the development of continental and maritime schools of thought in both countries.

Location may be either central or marginal with reference to accessibility. If the location be central, the accessibility will be easy; if it be marginal, the accessibility will be difficult. Great Britain's position is an excellent example of a central location with

reference to the North Atlantic trade route, which is the most important in the world. Although Great Britain herself has contributed substantially to the commercial importance of the North Atlantic route, her relative location along the route between the industrial east of North America and the industrial west of continental Europe has enhanced her position in the world of commerce. Furthermore, her location near the center of the land hemisphere has given her many advantages in the realm of trade. On the other hand, Chile, which is a weak power, suffers as a result of her distance from the major trade routes of the world. Of the continents, Europe has the best location while Australia has the poorest. Europe, which, in fact, is a peninsula of Asia, is situated very near both the center of the land hemisphere and the industrial and commercial areas of the world.

In geopolitics strategic locations are important. In peace the location may influence trade while in war it may serve as a base. Straits, isthmuses, peninsulas, passes, the valleys and mouths of navigable rivers, islands on leading ocean routes, and canal areas are examples of strategic locations. In the Second World War certain straits have acquired special significance: the Strait of Makassar, between Borneo and the Celebes, where a naval battle was fought between Allied and Japanese forces; the Strait of Dover, where twenty-one miles between Dover and Calais separated the triumphant forces of Hitler from the weakened British Expeditionary Force in the grim summer of 1940; the Strait of Messina, which the Allies crossed between Sicily and Italy; the Strait of Malacca, between Sumatra and British Malaya, which opened the Indian Ocean to Japanese ships after the fall of Singapore; and the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, which, under the flag of Turkey, link the Aegean and Black seas, and which are becoming in-

creasingly significant with the defeat of Germany in southern Russia.

Isthmuses with canals also have played an important role in this war. The preservation of the Panama Canal has shortened the route from San Francisco to New York from 12,600 nautical miles via the tip of South America to 4,500 nautical miles via the Panama Canal. Secretary of the Navy Knox has stated that the fall of Rommel in North Africa will enable the Allies to double the tonnage of ships going through the Suez Canal for India to China, for Iran to Russia, and to the Near East for a possible Balkan campaign.

Strategic peninsulas have also seen the fortunes of war: the heroic resistance of the Americans and Filipinos at Bataan, the tragic collapse of the British on the Malay Peninsula, and the bloody battle of Crimea.

Mountain passes, too, have played their role in the second battle of Thermopylae, that of 1941, when the New Zealanders faced the Nazis as the Greeks and Persians met in 480 B.C. El Alamein is essentially a narrow pass between the Mediterranean Sea and the Qatarra Depression. It enabled the British in the summer of 1942 to hold their line despite the superior forces and equipment of the "desert fox."

Islands, because of their strategic location, have been the centers of battle. The war in the Pacific began with the Japanese attack on Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands. Madagascar was taken by the British from the Vichy French in the spring of 1942 because of its location on a supply route to Russia. Malta has become known as the most bombed island on earth; the Greek island of Crete was captured by a Nazi attack from the air; the recent granting of naval and air bases in the Azores by the Portuguese to the British proved the strategic value of these islands; the Japanese acquired the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the

Indian Ocean; the battle of Britain was won by the British through the failure of the Nazi airmen to gain superiority. All these illustrations indicate the strategic role of islands in modern war.

The mouths and valleys of rivers have played an important strategic part in the war. The Japanese attack on Rangoon in Burma led to the invasion of that crown colony by way of the Irrawaddy River valley; the Nazis hoped to reach Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga on the Caspian Sea after the fall of Stalingrad on the bend of the Volga; the Germans in the battle of France pushed up the Somme River to Abbeville to entrap the British, French, and Belgian armies north of that river.

In an age in which sea power is supreme a group of bases will acquire significance which they might not possess in an age in which air power is important. The following locations are especially vital for sea power: Aden, Singapore, Darwin, Auckland, Batavia, Surabaya, Sydney, Port Stanley, Cape Town, Panama, Ceylon, Amboina, Manila, Hong Kong, Petropavlovsk, Dutch Harbor, Punta Arenas, San Juan, Reykjavik, Natal, Dakar, Diego Suarez, Oman, Istanbul, London, Helgoland, Scapa Flow, and Hammerfest. A specific study reveals that most of the control ports and harbors from the Strait of Gibraltar to Bass Strait (between Australia and Tasmania) are in British hands as of 1939. The Strait of Gibraltar between Spain and Africa has the strategic location of the Rock under Britain, the Southern Pillar of Hercules under Spain, and the harbor of Tangier under an international commission. The waist of the Mediterranean reveals Malta under England, Tunisia under France, and Sicily and Pantelleria under Italy. The Suez Canal area with the Canal Zone, Haifa in Palestine, and Alexandria in Egypt are all under British control. The Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb

reveals Perim Island and Aden under Great Britain, the peninsula of Dumeira, Ras under Italy and Sheikh Said under France. Ceylon off the southeast tip of India is under the British flag along with the Indian Empire. The Strait of Malacca has the strategic locations of Sumatra and the offshore archipelagos under the Netherlands, and the island of Singapore of the Straits Settlements and the Malay mainland under Great Britain. The Torres Strait separates Australia from New Guinea, the Bass Strait lies between Australia and Tasmania; all these are under the British king. By autumn of 1943 the British with Allied aid had gained Sicily, Pantelleria, and Tunisia, the peninsula of Dumeira, Ras and Sheikh Said, but the British and their Dutch allies had lost to Japan the base of Singapore, the Malay mainland, and the Netherlands Indies.

Certain bases for air power either possess considerable importance at present or they will possess more importance in the future. The following chosen bases are listed from the viewpoint of peacetime aviation in 1939, the changes effected by the war, and the possibility of north polar routes in the future: Natal, Dakar, Tangier, Oslo, Istanbul, Baghdad, Karachi, Bangkok, Darwin, Fusan, Petropavlovsk, Point Barrow, Novaya Zemlya, Northern Greenland, Newfoundland, Miami, Trinidad, Marseille, Nagasaki, North Cape, and Fort Lamy. It may be noted in several cases that the important sea bases are identical with important air bases.

The strategic location of land, sea, and air bases is revealed in the elaborate American defense of the Caribbean area for protection of the Panama Canal. Since the main object is defense of the Canal itself, the enemy must be kept as far away as possible. The Caribbean defenses of the Panama Canal are well planned and well executed. The defense of the Caribbean is complicated by the many entrances into the sea; namely

the Strait of Yucatán between Cuba and Yucatán, the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, the Mona Passage between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Passage between Puerto Rico and St. Thomas Island. Before the outbreak of the Second World War the United States had secured Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and had obtained a lease on Guantánamo from Cuba. In the destroyer-base transaction with England in September of 1940 the United States secured bases in the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Trinidad. At the present the largest naval base in the Caribbean is at Guantánamo in southeastern Cuba, while Trinidad, off the northeastern coast of South America, is becoming an important naval base of the future. Guantánamo, as a primary naval base, guards the Windward Channel.

The secondary bases located in the Bahamas are for the use of aircraft and small naval craft in patrolling the area and scouting out the enemy. Trinidad, the British island off Venezuela, is separated from the mainland by the Gulf of Paria, which may be entered from the north or from the south. According to Major General Haushofer, a naval base with two entrances avoids the nature of a "trap" such as exists at Pearl Harbor. Trinidad is becoming a primary naval base in the Caribbean defenses of the Canal from the eastern approaches by way of the Lesser Antilles. The British islands of Antigua and St. Lucia in the Lesser Antilles between Trinidad and Puerto Rico are, like the bases in the Bahamas, used as secondary bases for patrol and scouting activities. A large air base has been established in Puerto Rico at Borinquen, overlooking the Mona Passage in the western part of the island, while another huge air base has been established at Isla Grande near San Juan. The American Virgin Islands have a permanent marine base at Bourne Field on St. Thomas

Island, a submarine base at the harbor near by, and an air base at Manning Bay on the southern shores of St. Croix. Jamaica, where the United States also has bases, is, in general, centrally located between the Panama Canal on one side and the other American bases and the United States on the other. Although historically Jamaica has been the main naval base of the small units of the British fleet in the Caribbean, it is doubtful if this island will become a primary naval base for the United States as long as Guantánamo occupies that position off Cuba.

## SHAPE AND SIZE

The second geopolitical element of the state is the shape and size of the area. The shape or form of a country may have an important influence on its foreign policy. A state may be compact or attenuated. One that is compact possesses the advantage of a shorter boundary with reference to the whole area. The shapes of France and Canada are compact with regard to the areas under the French and Canadian flags. However, neither Paris, the capital of France, nor Ottawa, the capital of Canada, has a central location with reference to the whole country. Compactness is an asset in times of war, provided that other factors do not intervene. In France the leading industrial areas are in the north and east, while in Canada the population of the Dominion is concentrated in a narrow east-west strip extending for three thousand miles from coast to coast very near the United States border, with the principal exception of a wilderness region north of the Great Lakes.

On the other hand, an attenuated state has more boundaries because of its elongation. The classic example is Chile, which extends for twenty-six hundred miles north and south and hardly more than a hundred miles inland. Problems of communications

in Chile are increased by the Andes Mountains. Although the government of the republic is unitary, the north and the south have many different viewpoints. In the event of war the problems of defense would be much worse than those of a compact state. Chile is also very sensitive to the balance of naval power in the Pacific, at least in part because of her attenuated shape. A year ensued after the Rio Conference of Foreign Ministers before the republic fulfilled her obligation to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis. Norway has an elongated shape, although not so elongated as Chile's. In the German invasion of Norway the Nazis were able to cripple the kingdom by landing forces almost at the same time at the key places on the long coast line — Narvik, Trondheim, Bergen, Stavanger, and Oslo.

The size of a state is extremely important in geopolitics. The future powers of the world will consist of those states that have, among other facts, a vast area for defense in depth. The size of countries may vary from that of the principality of Monaco, which has an area of 0.5 square mile, to the U.S.S.R., which has an area of 8,386,332 square miles. Almost 50 per cent of the land surface of the earth is in the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth-Empire, and the United States. The British flag waves over one fourth of the earth's surface, and the Russian over one sixth. The United States with its possessions has an area of 3,734,000 square miles, or almost the area of Europe. The French flag flies over 4,805,646 square miles, while China, with its outlying territory, has an area of 3,756,102 square miles. The size of the British and French areas is much different from the size of the home base. Great Britain and Northern Ireland have 94,278 square miles, while France has 212,681 square miles. China and Russia have no colonies, while the

United States colonial empire consists of only 711,623 square miles. After the Treaty of Versailles Germany's area was reduced to 180,985 square miles. Between the fall of the Weimar Republic and the invasion of Poland the Führer had added 80,600 square miles. Between September 1, 1939, and June 22, 1941, Hitler, with Italy's aid, had conquered 796,000 square miles. With the high tide of Axis aggression in Russia the Führer had acquired 700,000 square miles of Soviet soil. Japan proper has 147,889 square miles — an area smaller than California — but the present Japanese Empire in the Pacific encompasses 3,250,000 square miles. Several small countries in Europe — the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, and Denmark — have large areas under their flag owing to their possessions overseas. About one fourth of the land of the earth is colonial territory, chiefly in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Far East. In marked comparison to these large political areas are the miniature states of Danzig, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Vatican City, San Marino, Andorra, and Monaco — with a combined area of less than a thousand square miles.

The importance of space as revealed in the size of a state is well shown in war time by the geopolitical concept of defense in depth. This can apply with equal validity to a country possessing a vast expanse of land or to a country controlling a vast area of water through sea power and bases. The events of the Second World War have proved the importance of space in both offense and defense. Small countries have been easily overrun by their larger neighbors. The Dutch fought just as bravely as the Russians, but the Dutch army was forced to surrender after four days of heroic resistance. On the other hand, the Russians possessed "defense in depth." They could draw the legions of Adolf Hitler into the vast depths of their land just as they had exhausted the armies

of Napoleon Bonaparte in the disastrous campaign of 1812. "Defense in depth" and "selling space to gain time" are possible in a country that comprises one sixth of the land area of the earth. The only solution for the conquest of the vast areas of the Soviet Union was the annihilation of the Red Army. In the summer of 1941 the apparent aim of the Reichswehr was more the destruction of the Soviet army than the mere attainment of spatial objectives. The German troops made a desperate effort to capture Moscow in the late fall of 1941, only after their plans for encircling and annihilating the Red Army had failed. The summer failure of the Reichswehr probably signified the ultimate defeat of Hitler in Russia.

In the Far East the Japanese have been fighting the Chinese ever since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of the night of July 7, 1937. Although they seized the largest cities, the important seaports, the industrial centers, and the vital railways of China, they have failed to break the backbone of enemy resistance. The Chinese have retreated to the west, transferring their capital beyond the gorges of the Yangtze River to Chungking. Possibly 60 million Chinese have left their homes in the eastern part of the country to live in the New West — the Red Basin of Szechwan. Schools and factories have been moved out of reach of the invaders. Even the fall of Burma to the Japanese in early 1942, with the closing of the Burma Road, failed to produce the collapse of Free China. Major General Haushofer, before the outbreak of the European phase of the Second World War, realized the plight of the Japanese armies in China. He believed that Tokyo should have moved "south into the warm seas." He desired a settlement of the dispute between the two belligerents as quickly as possible.

The nature of the surface features of the state will determine the nature of its offen-

sive and defensive strategy. The lowlands of Russia were conducive to the panzer type of warfare as were also the sandy deserts of North Africa. The mountains of Norway and of the Balkans necessitate a type of Alpine warfare, while the jungle swamps of equatorial Asia result in military infiltration. The crossing of rivers has played an important part in the fighting. The Russians crossed the Dnieper River in the fall offensive of 1943, while the Allies crossed the Volturno River in southern Italy. The physiography of the coast line of an area is important in deciding whether the area should be invaded at all, whether a Dieppe on a grander scale should be attempted, or whether a full-scale knockout blow should be directed at the enemy at a given place. The problems involved in invading the small fjorded coast line of Norway, where the ocean enters the valleys of the mountains, would be altogether different from the problems involved in the invasion of the Netherlands, which is more than one fourth below sea level. The "soft underbelly of Europe" from a geographical viewpoint does not appear so "soft." Four natural routes into it appear to the geographer, (1) the intermontane valley of the Rhône River leading to the "Burgundian Gate" and the Rhine River, (2) the Peartree Pass east of Trieste, connecting the head of the Adriatic with the Sava branch of the Danube, (3) the Vardar-Morava route from Salonika, Greece, to Beograd, Yugoslavia, and (4) the Hellespont-Bosporus route under Turkish control to the Black Sea. In the Far East the campaign for the reopening of Burma will be conditioned by the impossibility of sending forces to any great extent either from Assam into northern Burma or from Chittagong along the coast line. Many of the islands of the Pacific are atolls, possessing the physical advantages of natural bases for aircraft and ships. The great Japanese base of Truk,



the former American islands of Wake and Midway, and the islands of Makin and Tarawa of the Gilbert group are atolls. All in all, the nature of the topography is highly important in the military strategy of the state.

## CLIMATE

The third prime factor in the geopolitical basis of the state is climate. (Figure 4) The health and energy of man in both peace and war are conditioned by climate. The distribution and nature of the food supply are determined by climate. The clothes a person wears and the home in which he lives are influenced by climatic factors. The great states of the world are located in the middle latitudes, whereas most of the colonial areas are in the low latitudes. Climate sets up a barrier to the movement of man. In extremely cold areas like the polar regions and the mountains of high elevations man cannot thrive. Antarctica has the rare

distinction of being the only continent that has not been a battleground in the Second World War. On the other hand, certain areas too cold for human progress are very important in the war. For example, Svalbard, with its coal, has faced the vicissitudes of war, having been occupied at one time or another by British, Norwegian, and German troops. One of the first clashes between the Americans and the Germans was on the island of Greenland, where the Nazis attempted to maintain a meteorological station. Submarine activity has been reported even in the Kara Sea east of the Soviet island of Novaya Zemlya. Northern Norway, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula are too cold for any great degree of human progress, but the North Cape of Norway has possessed a strategic location for German submarines, Petsamo in Finland has been raided by Russian planes, and Murmansk is the terminus of an important supply route to Russia, especially in wintertime when Archangel freezes up. Most of Iceland

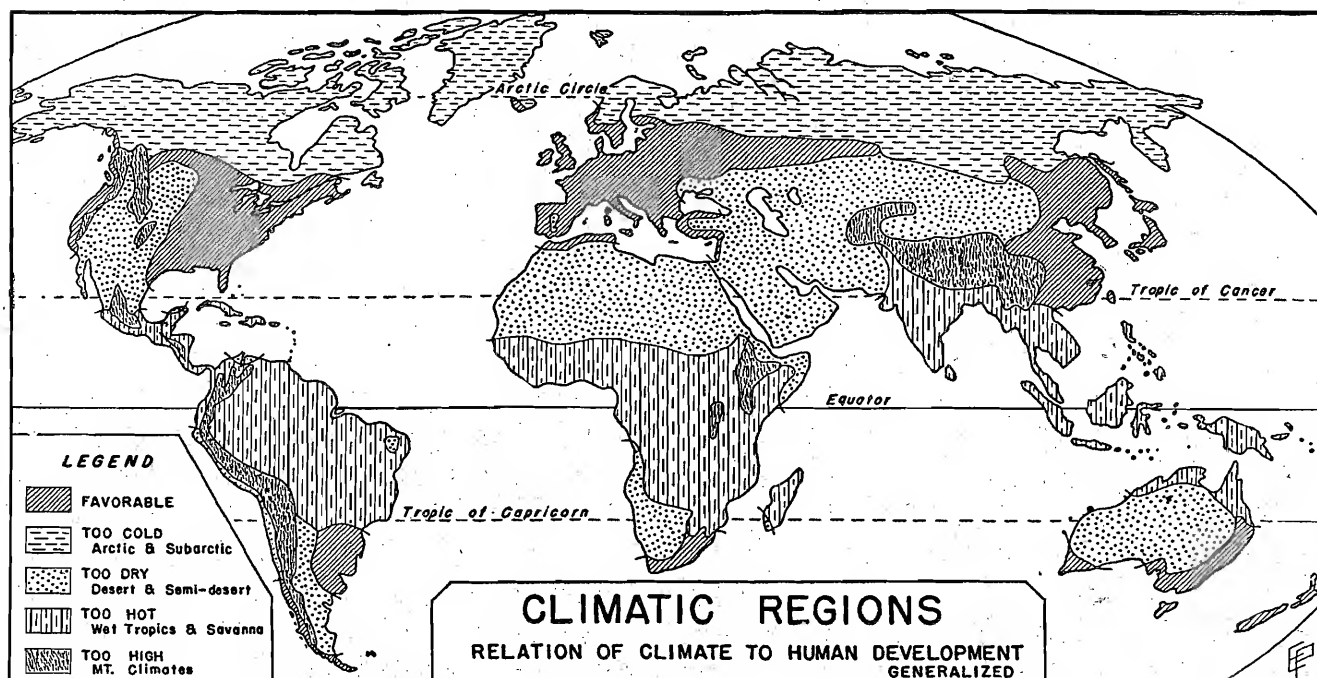


FIG. 4 · CLIMATIC REGIONS · All great powers have an appreciable part of their area in a "favorable" climate

is not conducive to human energy, but the strategic island was occupied by American troops in July, 1941.

Some areas are too hot and wet for man to develop a high degree of civilization. The tropical rain forest of the Amazon Lowland in Brazil and of the Congo Basin in Central Africa are such areas. There the soils are infertile because of the rapid decomposition of vegetation, while the dense tropical jungle along rivers and the seacoast is an impediment to penetration by man. In the regions of the doldrums heavy showers occur almost daily, with an average monthly temperature close to 80° F throughout the year. Some primitive peoples are able to survive in the Amazon and Congo regions with the primitive occupations of hunting, fishing, and collecting the fruits of the forest. Although many of the natives are primitive farmers, some tropical plantations, managed by white men, produce rubber, sugar, spices, cacao, and fruits. Fordlandia, for instance, is a rubber plantation in the Amazon Valley of Brazil. Firestone has established rubber plantations in Liberia. Most of the areas of the tropical rain forest are involved in the war either in the camp of the United Nations or in that of Japan.

Another climate that is unsuitable for human development is that of the tropical savanna, with its very hot dry seasons in the winter, when the trade winds replace the doldrums. In Asia the monsoons with their heavy summer rains make an abrupt change from the cooler winter weather. These monsoon areas like India and Ceylon have in their wetter portions a plant and animal life which is somewhat similar to that of the tropical rain forest, and in the drier portions plant and animal life similar to that of the savannas. Pastoral activities in the tropical savannas are widespread both in the Old World and the New. Agriculture is more de-

veloped with the use of the plow to kill the grass in the drier areas. Since the soils are less leached the ground is much more productive. Plantations of cotton and sisal are found along the coast, while the production of rice is extremely important in southeastern Asia. White men thrive much better in tropical highlands than in tropical lowlands. Although India is one of the most densely populated areas in the world, the warm climate is a handicap to political development. One of the few historic examples of political development in the tropics is the Maya Empire of Yucatán.

Dryness is another liability to political power. Although some of the deserts of the world have been important in the present war, they will have a less significant position in the peace. The fighting in North Africa involved desert warfare from 1940-1943, with the tide turning back and forth across the sands of Libya. Field Marshal Rommel showed that the Germans could adjust themselves to desert warfare, while General Montgomery proved that the British were equally adjustable to that type of fighting. The Germans selected for the Africa Corps were drilled on the sandy wastes of the Baltic, housed in overheated barracks, and were required to subsist on dried food with very little drinking water. If Australia had been invaded by the Japanese at Port Darwin, desert warfare might have resulted in the Australian desert, which occupies most of the western part of the country. The desert of Arabia is important not only strategically but economically for its petroleum. More than two hundred million Moslems look to Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia as the spiritual center of Islam. The Atacama Desert in northern Chile is valuable for its nitrates, but it was more valuable before the synthetic process of making nitrates was invented. Neither the low-latitude desert of the Kalahari nor the middle-latitude desert



of Gobi is likely to acquire as much importance in this war as either the Sahara or the Arabian Desert. The rise of world powers today in desert areas is impossible. The most important example of a strong state rising from a desert area is the empire of the Moslems, long before the industrial age of iron and steel. Deserts can be used only if they possess valuable mineral resources, as in Chile, or if they have sufficient water for the production of crops with irrigation. The river civilizations of the Tigris and Euphrates and of the Nile were based on the irrigation of the land. However, Egypt, with a strategic location on the sea route of Suez, and Iraq, with large resources of petroleum, both have a significant geopolitical role.

The steppe is distinguished from the desert in that it has more rainfall. The population of the steppe is likely to be sparse and nomadic. From the steppes of Asia have migrated many people, injecting a dynamic factor into the history of Europe and the Far East.

The favorable climates for the development of world power are the humid areas of the middle latitudes or the higher altitudes of the low latitudes. In the latter case Bolivia in South America, Ethiopia in Africa, and the Valley of Mexico are examples. The mineral resources of Bolivia, especially tin, are very important in the present day. Ethiopia was the last independent country in Africa to be subjugated by a colonizing power. However, Bolivia and Ethiopia are not likely to be world powers because of the lack of space and the mountainous topography. The seven world powers of 1939 all possessed substantial humid areas in the middle latitudes for the development of power. It is true, however, that the larger home bases like the United States and the Soviet Union have a wide variety of climate, whereas the climate of a small home base like the British and Japanese islands is not

so diversified. In an ideal climate for the ordinary work of modern life, according to Ellsworth Huntington, frequent changes of the weather are desirable, a fairly high humidity is important, especially in warm weather, the summers should be warm but not hot for physical reasons, while the winters should be cool but not cold for the best mental activity. Although no region completely fulfills these requirements, England and most of Europe, northern United States, the Pacific coast of the United States, New Zealand, Southeastern Australia, parts of Chile and Argentina, and Japan have favorable climates. In general the best climatic areas in the world for human energy are regions of the cyclonic storms of the north temperate zone. The Southern Hemisphere does not possess climatic regions corresponding to all those of the Northern Hemisphere because of its smaller land masses.

The weather has played a salient part in the military and naval campaigns, both past and present. The German generals — possibly using geopolitical data from the Munich Institute — realized that either Poland must be conquered in the first few days of September or the panzer divisions would have to combat the Polish mud. April was chosen for the Nazi invasion of Norway, partly because the stormy weather could conceal the units of the inferior Nazi fleet. The Germans selected June to begin the invasion of Russia because the firmness of the ground was favorable to the panzer divisions. Other examples of weather influencing this war are: the timing of the Japanese campaign in Burma from March to May because of the antimonsoon between October and May; the evacuation of Dunkerque with the concealing agent of fog; the desert storms of the North African campaign; the choice of June as the least foggy month in the Aleutians for the Japanese invasion; and the battle of the Bismarck

Sea, in which the shifting of the direction of a typhoon enabled the American bombers to sink most of the Japanese convoy headed from Rabaul to Lae. The weather has influenced the decisions of many engagements of past history: German and American ships were on the verge of battle in the Samoan Islands in 1889, when a Pacific typhoon destroyed almost all the vessels; the battle of Plassey, in 1757, was interrupted by a rainstorm, during which Clive of India covered his guns, resumed the fight after the shower, and won the battle; the destruction of the Spanish Armada of 1588 was aided by a storm and high wind after the battle; the struggle for Lookout Mountain in 1863 was called the "Battle above the Clouds" where Hooker drove the Confederates from the mountain; thundershowers interfered with Napoleon's plans at the battle of Waterloo in 1815; the Kaiser's navy at the battle of Jutland was able to escape in the fog of the North Sea; Mussolini timed his invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 just before the beginning of the rainy season.

## POPULATION

The fourth important geopolitical element of the state is the population. (*Figure 5*) Three fourths of the more than two billion people of the world live in southeastern Asia, western and central Europe, and eastern and central United States and Canada. The Oriental concentration includes nearly one half the world population, while the New World concentration is much smaller. The world is relatively empty of people in dry areas, along the Arctic Ocean, and in certain regions of the wet tropics, with Java as one of the conspicuous exceptions.

In time of war both manpower on the battlefield and man and woman power on the home front are essential to victory. A state must have the people to occupy the space if the state is to be powerful. One of the reasons for the geopolitical weakness of France with regard to Germany is the relative population of the two countries—France with less than 43 million and Germany with about 65 million in 1930. In the days of the

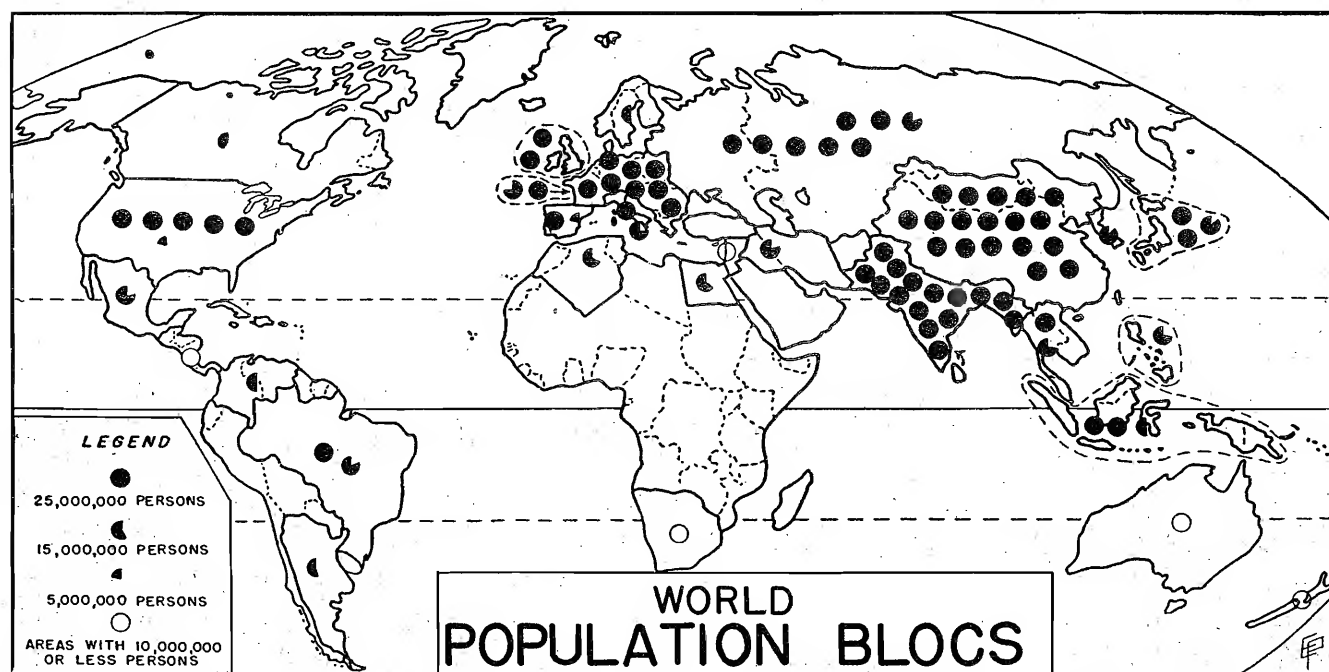


FIG. 5 · POPULATION BLOCS · Southeastern Asia has about one-half of the world's population and Europe another one-fourth

Emperor Napoleon the population of the two countries was much more evenly balanced, although France possessed the advantage of political unity while Germany was still only a "geographical expression." The Axis stress on increasing the birth rate by levying taxes on bachelors and paying bounties on large families was an indication of the desire of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to increase the population. The concept of population pressure with the demand for Lebensraum is a favorite theme of Axis writers on geopolitics. The Japanese political leaders have convinced their followers that the islands of Japan were overpopulated. The Japanese have opposed birth control, which is becoming prevalent in the Anglo-Saxon states; they have asserted that the doors of immigration from Japan are closed because of the white policies of the United States, the British dominions, and Latin America; they have objected to migration to Manchukuo and northern China because of the colder climate and the lower standard of living; they have claimed that the possibility of increased industrialization is conditioned by the tariffs of foreign powers in areas of prospective markets; finally, they have maintained that expansion by conquest is the only way of carrying out the divine mission of Japan to establish a New Order in Greater East Asia.

Major General Haushofer himself did not believe that Japan was overpopulated, but he considered the fact that the Japanese leaders were able to convince their people of the overpopulation of their country a matter of great importance. The enslaved millions of Europe and Greater East Asia are now being used to contribute to the military machines of Berlin and Tokyo. In the Far East the 300 million subjects of the Rising Sun are more submissive than are the people of the New Order in Europe. The Nazi manpower shortage is well revealed in the

frantic efforts to force able-bodied men of France into the industries of Germany.

However, the mere number of people in a country must not necessarily be considered a prime factor of geopolitical power. India and China have populations of 380 million and 422 million respectively, but neither one can be called a world power. The population of the United States is 132 million, while the population of the U. S. S. R. is 193 million. There are 61 million more Russians than Americans, with the population increase rate of Russia much higher than that of the United States. The huge American army of ten or more million men is almost equal to the entire population of Canada. Only a nation with a large population reserve could put so many men into uniform. In the First World War 60 million men were called to arms; in the Second World War the number of men in the service will be much greater. The mere listing of population statistics is dangerous unless they are completely understood. For instance, the British Commonwealth-Empire contains half a billion people, but 380 million are Indians and 70 million are the citizen peoples scattered throughout the Commonwealth.

Important aspects of population are race, ethnography, language, and religion. Race, a very elusive term, may be defined as a group of people distinguished by certain physical characteristics. The average person thinks of race as the color of the skin, while the scientists think of many criteria such as the texture and color of the hair, head dimensions, etc. Of the world's people, the Caucasian race, the Mongolian race, and the Negro race are those most often mentioned. The important point to remember about race is what people think about race. Hitler's belief in the mythological Aryan "race," involving the supremacy of the Nordics both in physical and mental characteristics, is of great significance. The treatment of the

"inferior" races of Europe by the "master" race is written in the persecutions of the Third Reich over the continent of Europe. In Japan the leaders have stressed the divinity of the Emperor and the divine mission of the state. Many of the Japanese soldiers have accepted the idea that they are instruments of the Emperor in carrying out his divine will to the people of the Pacific and Far East. Major General Haushofer is not a disciple of Hitler in his racial viewpoints. Since Haushofer's wife is not an Aryan, he, himself, could not become a bona fide member of the Nazi party. Haushofer's chief interest is space, while several of Hitler's advisers are chiefly interested in race.

In the world outside the Axis the attitude toward race varies from place to place. In the United States the 13 million Negroes have caused a distinct color line, especially in the South. On the other hand, the color line in Latin America is far less sharply drawn, with the Negroes of Brazil enjoying more privileges than the average Negro of the United States. In South Africa the white rulers of British and Dutch descent seek to preserve their control of the state, while in India race possesses little significance among the peoples. The persecution of the Jews in many areas of the world is based more on economic than racial grounds. It is doubtful if there is a distinct Jewish race.

Ethnography, another aspect of population, has its basis in the social and cultural foundation of the people, while race has its basis in the biological background of the group. Language and religion are important factors in the ethnographic structure of the state. One of Woodrow Wilson's principal ideas was the self-determination of peoples. However, the existence of many ethnic groups mingled together raises a problem of boundaries. The existence of minorities outside the political border of the state that represents the basic ethnographic

group may lead to political instability. One of the early aims of Adolf Hitler was to unite all Germans in one German Reich. By the Peace of Paris seven million German-speaking people were placed in Austria; three and one-half million in Czechoslovakia; and minorities were established in Poland, France, and Memel. Furthermore, the Polish Corridor created a German minority and destroyed the territorial unity of the Reich by separating East Prussia from the German homeland. Without having to fight a war Hitler was able to add to Germany the populations of Austria, Sudetenland, and Memelland, but Danzig and the Polish Corridor became the occasion for the outbreak of the European phase of the Second World War. Hostility between basic ethnographic groups has been common throughout history. The French and Germans have been hostile for centuries; Slavs and Germans have come in frequent conflict; Greeks and Bulgars have fought for years. The civil strife in Yugoslavia, especially prominent in 1943, has largely an ethnographic origin. The Yugoslavia of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes consisted of ethnic groups who were not welded closely together in nationalism or state unity. Two of the Axis allies are Croatia, carved by the Nazis from Yugoslavia, which is one of the United Nations, and Slovakia, carved by the Nazis from Czechoslovakia, which is also a member of the United Nations. Moreover, the forced migration of peoples from place to place in Europe by the Nazi lords will further complicate the problem of boundaries. The European boundary questions of the next peace conference which center about ethnic groups will resemble the discussions of the last conference at Paris in 1919. Against this chaotic background is the shining example of Switzerland, with the ethnic units of Germans, French, Italians, and Rhaeto-Roman Swiss unified into one happy state.

Language is one of the best ways of distinguishing the various ethnic groups. A common language tends to unite a people, while a diversity of languages often divides them. The language complexity in Asia and Europe is in direct contrast to the language simplicity in the Americas and Australia. English, Spanish, and Portuguese are the leading languages of North and South America, while French is spoken in Quebec and French and Dutch are spoken in some of the West Indies and Guianas. In Australia, English is the language throughout the entire continent. In India alone more than two hundred languages are recognized, not to mention the many dialects, while at least ten Indian languages are spoken by nine or more million people. In Europe no two countries have the same vernacular, except Germany and Austria, although many minority groups have the same language. In Africa the Negro people under the British flag speak about two hundred languages, whereas in South Africa both English and Afrikaans are spoken by the whites.

Another factor distinguishing ethnographic groups is religion. Religion as a cause for conflict has now receded into history. The bloody struggles associated with the rise of Islam, the crusades to the Near East, the Protestant Reformation, and the Catholic Counter-Reformation are a part of the past. Only in modern India do the struggles of the Hindus and Moslems reflect religious strife. The quarrels in Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs have primarily an economic foundation. Christianity, with the main branches of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox faiths, is the prevalent religion of the Americas, Australia, Europe, and South Africa. The faith of Islam extends from the Netherlands Indies to North Africa, including the Near East, portions of India, western China, and areas in the Philippines. The Buddhist faith is

found from Mongolia to southeastern Asia and Japan. Hinduism is concentrated in India, although the sub-continent presents a maze of varying religions. Most of the Chinese follow the precepts of Confucius. The Pagans are found in equatorial regions, such as Central Africa and New Guinea, as well as in polar areas. The believers in Judaism are scattered throughout the entire world. The total Christian population of the earth is estimated at 683,000,000, while the non-Christian population is estimated at 1,169,000,000. The relation of the church and state varies from complete religious freedom, as in the United States, to a state religion, as in some of the Latin American countries. Religion as a bulwark in the state is well shown in the growth of the Shinto idea in Japan. On the other hand, the Soviet Union for a time attempted to stamp out all religion. The impact of the Second World War on Russia has led to a far more liberal attitude toward religion on the part of the Soviet government.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY

The fifth geopolitical element of the state is its natural resources and industrial capacity as an expression of economic power. Military success depends largely upon superior equipment in terms of planes, tanks, ships, and guns, which in turn depend upon the industrial capacity of the country. (*Figure 6*) A world power should either have the essential natural resources within its territory or else have the power to guarantee access to them. (*Figure 7*) This is a qualification that automatically bars most of the states of the earth from the position of world power. The raw materials must be developed if the state is to achieve a position of strength. The natural resources of Russia existed in the days of the Tsar but very few

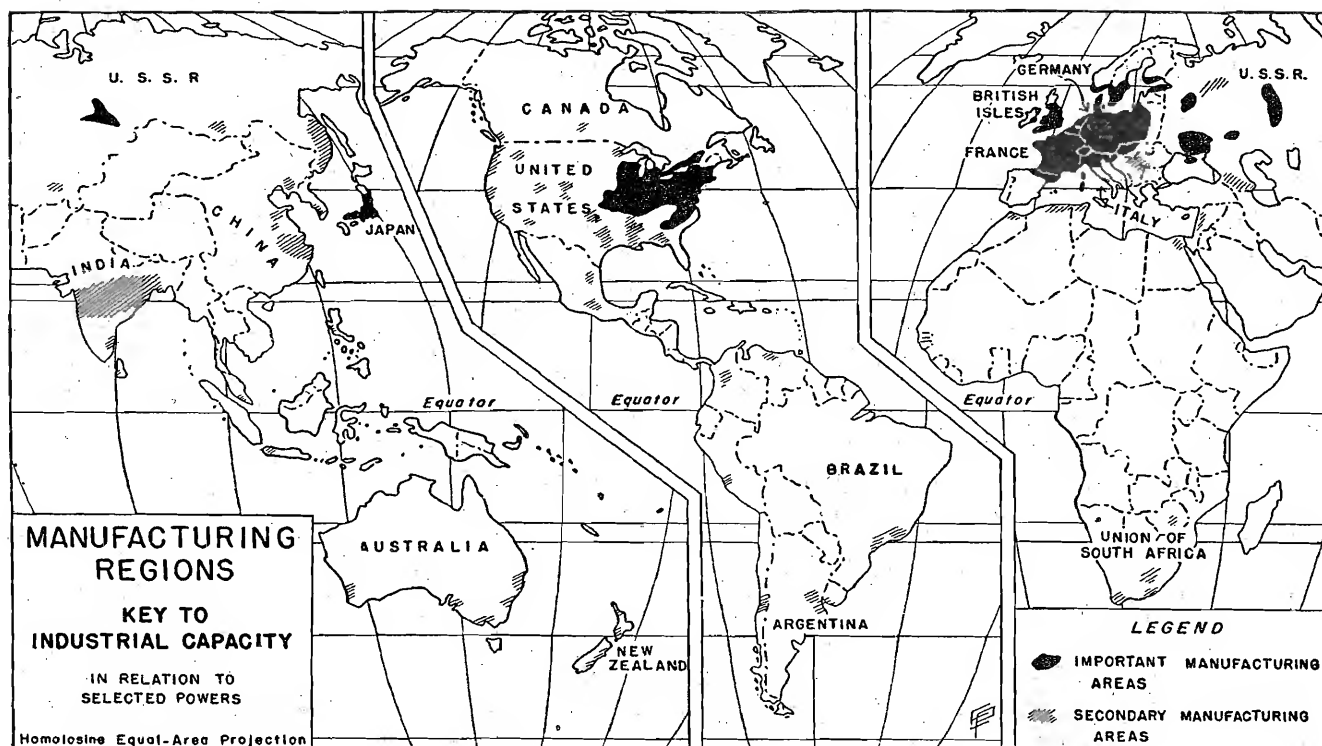


FIG. 6 MANUFACTURING REGIONS · Leading manufacturing regions, like high climatic energy, are associated with great powers

of them were sufficiently exploited to exert a powerful influence in the First World War. The Russian armies of 1917 collapsed before the Kaiser's soldiers, but the Soviet forces of 1943 are rapidly driving the Führer's armies from their soil. Finally, adequate transportation facilities must exist if the raw materials of nature are to be turned into the industrial products of war and peace. Transportation facilities may take the form of roads, railroads, the use of inland waterways and ocean routes, and even transportation in the air.

The Axis attempt to divide the world into self-sufficient regions is subject to considerable qualifications. No state alone is self-sufficient. Yet a great variation in the degree of self-sufficiency existed among the Great Powers prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. The United States, the Soviet Union, and the British Empire as a whole were the most self-sufficient states on earth. The first two possess a geographical

compactness, while the British Empire is scattered across one fourth of the earth's surface. France, with her colonial empire, ranked next in the scale of self-sufficiency. Germany, Italy, and Japan were far below the other World Powers of 1938 in self-sufficiency. For this reason, the phrase "haves and have-nots" came into frequent use in the 1930's.

Today the effectiveness of national power is determined largely by its capacity for industrialization. In comparison with this factor, the area, the population, the gold, the munitions, and the army of any state are subordinate. The hope of the United Nations lies chiefly in its superior industrial capacity, especially in the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union. The initial successes of Germany and Japan lie in the geographical propinquity of their conquests and in the earlier progress made in the manufacture of the modern instruments of war. In an industrial conflict of attrition



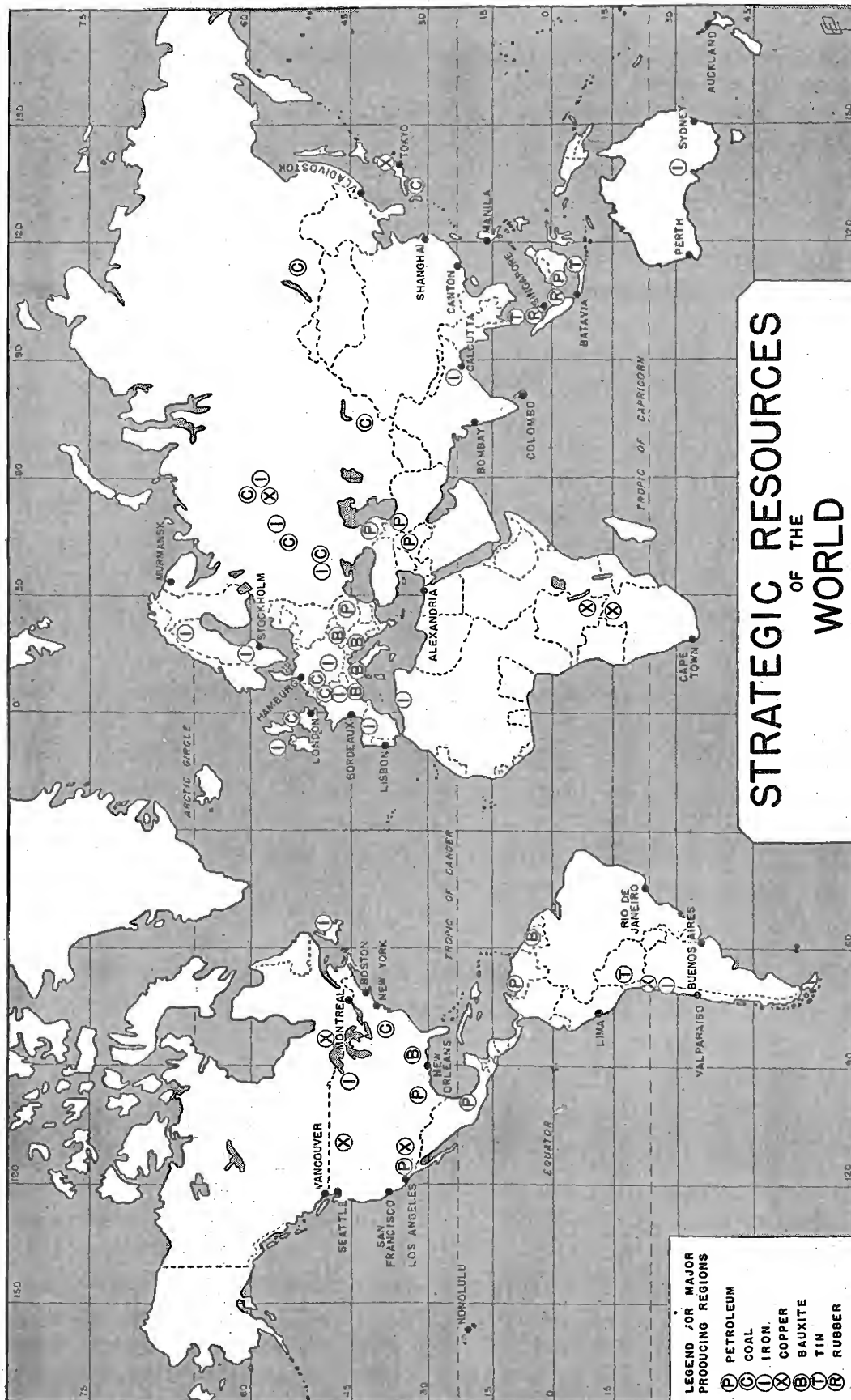


FIG. 7 · STRATEGIC RESOURCES OF THE WORLD · Not all powers have all the necessary war resources; hence the struggle for them

the Axis is eventually doomed. The capacity for industrialization is largely determined by the raw materials essential for industry. This involves at once an international problem, due to the existing pattern of political boundaries and the uneven geographical distribution of physical resources.

The United States Army and Navy Munitions Board has published a number of lists of strategic, critical, and essential materials for the United States. Strategic materials are those "essential to the national defense for the supply of which in war dependence must be placed in whole or in part on sources outside the continental limits of the United States, and for which strict conservation and distribution-control measures will be necessary." A majority of these strategic materials have a mineral origin. The United States uses more than half the world's output of antimony. Although Bolivia and Mexico produce some antimony, China provides more than half the world's supply. Southern Rhodesia is the chief producer of chromium. The Soviet Union, Turkey, and South Africa also produce some of this metal. The United States uses from one third to two thirds of the world's output. Manganese is an important metal, since it is used with iron in making certain kinds of steel. The United States uses one third of the world's output, which comes from Russia, India, and South Africa. Mercury, which was added later to the list, is found in large amounts in Spain and Italy. The United States imports about one half of the amount it uses in industry. Mica, which is used in electrical devices, comes largely from India. Canada produces 85 per cent of the world's nickel, while New Caledonia produces 5 per cent. The United States imports one half of the world's output of nickel. Most of the quartz crystal comes from Brazil, and 74 per cent of the tungsten comes from China. Tin is probably the only

metal never mined in more than negligible quantities in the United States. Over half the world's tin was smelted near Singapore. Thirty-seven per cent came to the United States from the Malay States, 19 per cent from the Netherlands Indies, and 12 per cent from Bolivia.

Other important strategic materials are coconut-shell char, Manila fiber, quinine, silk, and rubber. Most of the rubber used by the United States came from British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies. Brazil was formerly the world's leading source of supply, and new plantations could be developed there to produce in seven or eight years. Peru and Bolivia may be able to make the United States independent of quinine from the East Indies. Most of America's raw silk came from Japan, while much of its Manila fiber came from the Philippines. Much of the coconut-shell char came from the South Pacific, but limited amounts are available in South America.

The critical materials listed by the United States Army and Navy Munitions Board are those essential for national defense whose procurement in war is less serious than the acquisition of the strategic materials. Aluminum, which appeared earlier as a strategic material, is produced in Canada and the United States; asbestos is found in eastern Canada, while flake graphite is transported from Madagascar, although a substitute can be easily used; iodine is produced in California, and the United States is finding a substitute for German optical glass; vanadium, which is used in airplane construction, is mined in Peru and the United States.

In the case of the essential materials listed by the Army and Navy Munitions Board, no procurement problem in war is anticipated, although the issue is largely the smooth operation of smelting, manufacturing, and distribution agencies. Some of the

materials are chlorine, copper, helium, iron and steel, lead, magnesium, molybdenum, nitrogen compounds, petroleum, phosphates, potash, sulfuric acid, uranium, zinc, and zirconium. However, the list is frequently changed to suit the needs of the day. The United States is not only the world's largest producer but also the largest consumer and distributor of minerals and their products.

The United States is considered one of the most self-sufficient countries in the world, if not the most self-sufficient. But the facts reveal that even the United States can hardly live alone. How do the Axis powers — Germany, Italy, and Japan — stand in the list of self-sufficient nations? Twenty-two industrial raw materials are essential for self-sufficiency: coal, iron ore, petroleum, copper, lead, nitrates, sulphur, cotton, aluminum, zinc, rubber, manganese, nickel, chromite, tungsten, wool, potash, phosphates, antimony, tin, mercury, and mica.

Germany in 1939 was largely or entirely dependent on foreign supplies for all these twenty-two materials except coal, nitrates, and potash. Her self-sufficiency in iron during war time is based on her supplies from Sweden. Italy produces sulphur, zinc, and mercury. Additional supplies of iron, lead, nitrates, and aluminum are available through the exploitation of low-grade domestic materials and through readily available sources. She is dependent upon foreign sources almost entirely for coal, petroleum, copper, cotton, and many indispensable alloy materials. Japan has coal and iron, including her supplies in Manchukuo, sulphur, chromite, tungsten, nitrates, and mica for her immediate needs. Prior to December 7, 1941, she was dependent upon other countries for such vital products as rubber, tin, and oil.

France alone produced iron, aluminum, and potash, but her empire supplied nickel, chromite, antimony, and mica. The Soviet

Union lacks chiefly rubber, nickel, tungsten, and antimony. The British Empire lacks potash, phosphates, antimony, mercury, and petroleum. The United States needs rubber, chromite, tin, and manganese. The United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union have the capacity of producing 133 million tons of steel a year, while Nazi Europe and Japan can produce only 49 million tons.

Prior to December 7, 1941, the areas of Asia occupied by Japan did not compensate for the increased industrial consumption in Nippon under impact of the war effort. Japan was still forced to turn elsewhere for petroleum, rubber, iron and steel scrap, and most of the alloy metals. Conquest of Southeastern Asia solved many of the raw-material problems of Japan. She acquired "overabundant" supplies of oil, tin, and rubber, although the immediate value was impaired by a "scorched-earth" policy. Other important materials were iron ore, scrap iron, bauxite, chrome, manganese, copper, and nickel. But Greater East Asia is still not a completely self-sufficient co-prosperity sphere. Important deficiencies remain, such as those of mercury, nitrates, and lead. From the viewpoint of the food supply of the Japanese, the Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere is self-sufficient. The surplus production of rice in French Indo-China and Thailand is a great asset to the armies of the Rising Sun in the South Seas.

The Nazis have consistently declared that Europe is a natural economic unit. Since the outbreak of the Second World War Germany has acquired access to the iron ore of France and of Sweden. The Ukraine is able to furnish manganese, coal, and iron. Chromite is obtained from Greece and Yugoslavia. Limited resources of nickel are found in Norway and Finland. Limited supplies of tungsten are available in Spain and Portugal. A little antimony may be

found in France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Yugoslavia. The largest reserves of mercury in the world are located in Spain and Italy. Rumania has a fair supply of oil while Poland produces a little. If Germany could conquer the Near East and Africa in addition to all of Europe west of the Urals, she would have most of the world's chromite, mercury, manganese, bauxite, and potash. She would have about one half of the world's iron ore, vanadium, magnesite, sulphur, phosphates, wood pulp, and textile fibers. However, Germany would lack adequate supplies of certain essential materials such as antimony, tin, rubber, and possibly petroleum.

From the viewpoint of the food supply, the Germany of 1939 depended to a considerable degree on imports, many of them from the Balkans. The battle still rages over the self-sufficiency of Europe in food. A distinguished authority, Brooks Emeny, has asserted that as long as the blockade of the sea approaches to the continent exists, the Europe of the Nazis must slowly starve. On the other hand, the writers of the Foreign Policy Association assert that there is little likelihood that Germany can be starved into submission.

The Western Hemisphere is probably not a self-sufficient unit in itself. The natural resources of Canada and Latin America supplement as well as compete with those of the United States. Only the twelve Latin American nations of the Caribbean and the three Andean nations of South America could form a customs union with the United States without any serious economic problems. Many of the products of the southern half of South America and the western area of Canada seriously compete with those of the United States. As far as food is concerned the Americas are self-sufficient. They are also blessed with a good supply of raw materials. The figures which follow represent the 1934 to 1938 percentage of the

world's production of certain raw materials supplied by the Americas: aluminum 35%, antimony 49%, coal 37%, copper 64%, cotton 53%, gold 28%, iron ore 35%, lead 53%, molybdenum 96%, nickel 84%, petroleum 78%, pig iron 35%, steel 40%, tin 20%, vanadium 37%, wheat 24%, wool, 28%, and zinc 53%. In spite of this glowing array the Western Hemisphere falls far short of producing an adequate volume of certain raw materials necessary in both peace and war. These materials are chromite, magnesite, manganese, Manila fiber, mercury, potash, quinine, rubber, tin, tungsten, and vegetable oils. Thus neither Greater East Asia, the New Europe, or the Western Hemisphere is a region capable of existing solely by itself.

Special mention should be made of petroleum, the blood stream of modern war. Modern warfare on land, on sea, and in the air depends upon gasoline, lubricants, and fuel oils, not only at the battle fronts but also to a great extent on the home front in industry, transportation, and agriculture. Before the outbreak of the war the United Nations controlled over nine tenths of the world's output of oil. Although they have now lost to the Japanese the oil fields of the Netherlands Indies, the Irrawaddy wells in Burma, and the British Borneo fields, increased production in the Western Hemisphere has even increased the percentage of oil controlled by the United Nations. In peace time Japan can produce only about ten per cent of her domestic needs but the present Japanese Empire is self-sufficient in petroleum if the damage done by the "scorched earth" policy of the allies is repaired, if transportation problems are solved, and if refining facilities are provided. The retention of the Netherlands Indies in Allied hands would have meant that the oil for General MacArthur might have come from those islands and not from Iran across the

Indian Ocean or from California across the Pacific. The possession of the Irrawaddy oil fields would have meant that the American planes in China might have obtained their supplies from Burma and not from the Middle East. In Europe, Germany produces about ten per cent of her peace-time consumption and Italy about one per cent. Prior to 1939 Germany produced by synthetic means about one third of her requirements, but oil of this type does not possess the valuable qualities necessary for either high-grade aviation gasoline or good lubricants. Germany has acquired the Ploesti oil wells in Rumania, but they have been bombed by the Americans. The Nazi drive toward the Caucasus was aimed partly at the acquisition of oil for the Reich. Furthermore, German submarines aimed their torpedoes at American tankers and fired at the oil refineries on Aruba and Curaçao off the coast of Venezuela; Italian bombers from bases in Italian East Africa bombed Bahrein Island; the failure of Argentina to break relations with the Axis has resulted in the refusal of the United States to provide that country with machinery to develop her oil wells. The distribution of oil among the states of the United and Associated Nations is widespread. The United States, the Soviet Union, Venezuela, Iran, Mexico, and Iraq are important producers. Other areas producing oil are Colombia, Trinidad, Argentina, Peru, Egypt, Arabia, and Bahrein Island. The problems of the United Nations are largely those of production and supply. The struggle of the world states for petroleum in war and peace could be combined in a special phase of geopolitics.

Considerable attention should be directed to the food production of a state, since this is a vital factor in the security of the country when outside sources may be severed. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Japan proper are self-sufficient in food production.

Of these three nations only the Soviet Union by the end of 1943 had lost any of its food-production area. The Ukraine "bread basket" had been taken by the Nazis in 1941, but Soviet troops were recovering the area in late 1943. The Japanese diet, with emphasis on fish and rice, is quite different from that of the American and Russian diets. Moreover, most nations need to import food for a well-balanced diet even though they may be self-sufficient. For instance, the United States, the leading food-producing country on earth, imports sugar, bananas, cocoa, tea, and coffee to satisfy the taste of the people. France produces almost all her food supply at home, although the colonies of French North Africa practically preclude the need of imports from other sources. Italy is almost self-sufficient in food production, a condition which the Duce dramatized by his draining of the Pontine marshes. In peace time Germany is forced to depend upon foreign states to supply her food deficit, while Great Britain depends to a much greater extent on the importation of food mostly from distant parts of the Empire. Out of twelve months Great Britain normally has a six months' supply of foodstuffs available from domestic production, while Germany has an eight months' supply.

In a modern war, industrial capacity is the key to victory. The leading manufacturing regions of the world are East-Central North America, West-Central Europe, and Southeastern Asia. East-Central North America includes 85 per cent of the manufacturing of the United States and 90 per cent of the manufacturing of Canada; West-Central Europe includes the great industrial areas of Britain, Germany, France, and northern Italy; Southeastern Asia embraces the industrial regions of Japan, China along the lower Yangtze, and India from Calcutta to Bombay. The other manufacturing areas are Western North America,

Eastern South America, which includes Southern Brazil, Northern Argentina, and Uruguay, Southern Africa, Southeastern Australia, and Middle Chile. The manufacturing districts of the Soviet Union are rising to prominence: the Kuznetsk Basin in Western Siberia, the Southern Urals, the Moscow area, and Krivoi-Rog in the Ukraine. The Russians will again possess all these areas with the expulsion of the Nazis from the Ukraine.

Transportation facilities are essential for the utilization of natural resources. Closely associated with the manufacturing districts of the world are the ocean routes: the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean-Asiatic-Australian, the Cape of Good Hope route, the European-Eastern South American, the Eastern North American-Eastern South American, the North American-Western South American, the North Pacific, and the North American-Australasian. The Second World War has interfered with these routes in various ways. The North Atlantic route has become even more vital because of the necessity of supplying the British Isles as a base for the attack on Germany. The Mediterranean route was closed for ordinary merchant shipping by the British Admiralty shortly before the Italian entrance into the war and was not reopened until Rommel was driven from North Africa. The Cape route became an important supply route to Russia via Iran when the Axis was threatening to turn the Mediterranean into a Nazi lake. The North American-Eastern South American route is well protected by the convoys since the disastrous submarine attacks in the summer of 1942. The North American-Western South American route was kept open through the preservation of the Panama Canal. The North Pacific route was closed after Pearl Harbor to all but Russian ships, which were still crossing the Pacific with supplies in the summer of 1943. The North

American-Australasian route was kept intact by the preservation of the American stepping stones from Hawaii to Australia and the occupation by American forces of the British and French strategic islands in the southwest Pacific: New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Fijis. A wartime supply route to Russia is the North Atlantic to Murmansk and Archangel. Murmansk remains open throughout the year because of the moderating influence of the North Atlantic Drift.

On land the transportation routes utilize inland waterways, roads, and railroads. The Great Lakes have been called a Mediterranean of the United States and Canada, but they are frozen for three months of the year. The Soo Canal, connecting Lake Superior and Lake Huron, carries more traffic than either the Panama or Suez in peace time. Most of this is the iron ore moving from the Lake Superior region of Minnesota to the lower lake ports in the industrial heart of the United States. The Mississippi flows in a north-south direction, opposite the historic trend of American development, which was from east to west. The inland waterways of northwestern Europe comprise the most highly developed and utilized system in the world. Most of these have been nationalized and subsidized. By means of canals small ships can travel from the Rhine to the Elbe, Rhône-Saône, Seine, and Danube. Plans have been made to link Moscow by inland waterways with the White, Baltic, Black, and Caspian seas. A canal between the Don and the Volga was being built at the time of the German invasion of Russia. In Asia the Yangtze River is navigable for ocean-going vessels up to Hankow, 600 miles upstream, and for large river steamers 400 miles farther. The Yellow River is navigable only a few miles from its mouth. Small craft can travel from Hangchow to Tientsin by way of the Grand Canal.



The United States has about 235,000 miles of railroad, or almost one third of the world's trackage. A large percentage of the mileage is east of the one hundredth meridian. There are ten transcontinental railroad lines linking the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of the United States. The railroads of Europe are thick around the North Sea, and they thin out to the east and south. The railroads of China are chiefly along the river plains, and they are developed by foreign capital. Japan, Java, and India have concentrations of railroads. Africa, Latin America, and Australia possess a few railroads, but they are not comparable in mileage to those of the United States and Europe.

As far as the mileage of highways is concerned, the United States and Canada have a very important position in the world, while Europe has a concentration of highways in the northwest. However, Europe lacks gasoline, and the use of inland waterways has reduced the construction of roads. Asia, Africa, Australia, and Latin America have very few highways.

Since the outbreak of the war certain land routes have become important strategically. The Alaskan Highway, completed in October, 1943, at a cost of \$115,000,000, extends from Edmonton, Alberta, to Fairbanks, Alaska. Plans call for the extension of the highway to Nome in the Seward Peninsula. This highway was constructed to provide a land route to Alaska which will supplement the "Inside Passage" route on the sea. Another strategic land route is the projected Pan American highway from New York City to Buenos Aires. Much of the work has already been completed, with several of the Latin American countries using their lend-lease funds from the United States for its construction. It will be desirable to have a land route to the Panama Canal to supplement the sea route as quickly as pos-

sible. Some of the gaps in the route at present are in southern Mexico, Central America, Colombia, and Ecuador. A strategic land route in another continent extends from Darwin to Adelaide across the Australian desert. The central part of this route must be crossed by automobile, as trains can go only part way from the north and part way from the south. The famous Cape to Cairo Railway planned by the empire-builder, Cecil Rhodes, is still in the dream stage in many sections of Africa. Before Dakar passed into Allied hands there was considerable discussion about the construction of a possible railroad from French North Africa to French West Africa. The Trans-Siberian Railroad, extending from Leningrad across the vastness of Russian Siberia to Vladivostok, has recently been double-tracked. In case of war between Russia and Japan it would play a significant part. The Trans-Iranian Railroad of 870 miles, called the "Shah's Folly," has become important in the present war. Since Bandar Shahpur, the terminus on the Persian Gulf, has thirty-foot tides and Bandar Shah, the terminus on the Caspian Sea, stands high and dry because of the evaporating Caspian, new port facilities have been rushed at both ends. The Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad, which passes through several countries, was finally completed shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. A railroad extends from Alexandria, Egypt, across Palestine and Syria to meet it. One of the most important strategic highways is the Burma Road from Chungking via Kunming to Lashio — a distance of 712 miles, built by China between July, 1937, and December, 1938. The Burma Road is connected at Lashio by a railroad from Mandalay and Rangoon. The Japanese capture of the Burma Road was a bitter blow to the Chinese. The overland route from China to Russia had more importance while the Rus-

sians were supplying the Chinese before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union.

Air routes cover both land and water. The airplane is used to open up pioneer areas in the arctic or tropics. In peace time planes left the United States for Latin America, Europe, and the Western Pacific. In 1939 Central Europe had the densest network of airlines in the world. The U.S.S.R. has developed airlines from Leningrad to Vladivostok, and a Canadian line extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. European lines, especially German and Italian, were highly important in South America prior to the war, serving as wings for the Trojan horse. Empire lines in 1939 extended from Great Britain to India, Singapore, and Australia, and from Cape to Cairo, from the Netherlands to the Netherlands Indies, and from France to French Africa and Indo-China. The Second World War has accelerated the development of air routes through certain areas of the world. The North Atlantic air route has become a commonplace. The route from the United States to the bulge of Brazil and thence to Africa was vital in the battle of North Africa. Shortly after Pearl Harbor the United States bomber route to Australia stretched from Miami to Brazil, thence to Equatorial Africa, India, Sumatra, and Java, and finally to Australia. However, by January, 1942, a new American route was opened to Australia by way of Christmas Island, Canton Island, the Fijis, and New Caledonia. After the war the development of airways throughout the entire world will proceed rapidly.

### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The sixth geopolitical element of the state is the political and social organization of the country as a manifestation of political power. The great powers of the earth in 1939 re-

flected different social and political organizations. As a result of this war the victors will see their way of life preserved, while the vanquished will be forced to overthrow their governments. If the Germans had defeated the Russians, the Soviet State would have fallen. On the other hand, the end of Nazism is an objective of the United Nations. Already in Italy Fascism has been overthrown and Marshal Badoglio has been forced to promise a democratic government to the Italians.

A very brief summary of the political and social organizations of the powers of 1939 is in order. The United States is organized as a federal union under the Constitution of 1787. The War between the States (1861-1865) settled once and for all the supremacy of the Federal Government. On the other hand, the British Commonwealth-Empire represents the most complex political organization in the world, with a Commonwealth of independent states — Great Britain, Eire, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa — and a dependent Empire largely under Great Britain. Yet the development of self-government in the temperate areas occupied by the white people of the British Commonwealth is a factor of strength, not weakness. In the dark days after Dunkerque the unity of the Commonwealth was revealed to the whole world. Both the British and the American governments are based on democracy, but the cabinet type prevails in the Commonwealth and the presidential type in the United States. Both countries are considered capitalistic states, but the laissez-faire of rugged individualism has been conditioned by the governments both in peace and in war.

The organization of the U. S. S. R. under the constitution of 1936 is a federal government, at present consisting of sixteen Soviet Republics, each with the theoretical right of secession. Beside the Union Republics

are autonomous republics, autonomous regions, and national areas. Although all Soviet citizens at the age of eighteen have the right to vote, there is only one political party — the Communist, with a membership of approximately two million. In reality the Soviet Union is a dictatorship under Marshal Premier Stalin. The ideas of democracy are not condemned, as in Germany, while capitalism has been officially abolished by the Communist regime. The wealth of the country: land, minerals, forest, factories, railroads, water and air transportation facilities, banks, state farms and municipal-housing facilities belong to the people. The strength of the U. S. S. R. is evidenced by the resistance of the Soviets to the Nazis.

The Third French Republic, proclaimed in 1870, was organized as a unitary state with departments, arrondissements, and cantons. The cabinet type of democratic government functioned. However, the disunity of the people was reflected by the many political parties of France who failed to agree on a national policy. This was one of the big reasons for the collapse of the Third Republic in 1940. French economy was organized on a capitalistic basis, but government regulation was increasing with the passage of time.

Japan is organized as an empire with the emperor possessing divine characteristics in the eyes of the people. In 1889 Emperor Mutsuhito granted Japan a constitution which is still the law of the land. The cabinet type of government theoretically prevails with a premier and a diet. In the 1920's it appeared for a while that democracy might succeed in the Island Kingdom, but the militarists got control of the government. Japan at present is a military dictatorship ruled by the army and navy warlords. The Japanese hatred of Communism as "dangerous thinking" is well known

throughout the world. Capitalism is only theoretically the basis of the economic structure of Japan.

In Germany the Weimar Constitution, drawn up after the First World War, is in abeyance, since the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler has nullified it for all practical purposes. Hitler is both president and chancellor of Germany and Führer of the Nazi party. The German Reichstag is in essence a group of hand-picked Nazis whose business is to approve the decisions of Adolf Hitler. The German states of the Weimar Constitution have been abolished in the Third Reich. Naziism is the negation of democracy, although the State has not abolished capitalism. The Italy of Mussolini operated under the old constitution of Charles Albert of 1848, although the advent of Fascism in 1922 greatly changed it. The Duce was the dictator of the state, while King Victor Emmanuel III of the House of Savoy was merely a figurehead. Italy was organized as a corporate state, with the basic professions and occupations in guilds under the strict control of the government. Democracy was considered obsolete. All the Axis states believed that the individual existed solely for the glorification of the state. Fascism may best be defined as capitalistic collectivism. The events of the Second World War have proved that the hold of Fascism on the Italian people was weak as compared with the hold of Naziism upon the Germans or Communism upon the Russians.

The power of the state is revealed by its boundary changes, by its expansion or contraction of area over a period of years. Boundaries themselves may be classified as physical, such as the boundary of Argentina and Chile at the Andes, and the Rio Grande between the United States and Mexico; ethnographic, such as the Estonian-Latvian boundary; astronomical, such as the separation of Karafuto from Sakhalin between

Japan and Russia; strategic, as the Russian acquisition of the Baltic states; economic, as the Polish Corridor; and boundaries marked by conquest, as the Rumanian acquisition of the Dobrudja. In general a boundary is a line of demarcation, while a frontier is a zone. In the analysis in the

Appendix the boundary changes of the world since 1870 are centered around the seven great powers of 1939 and Latin America. They are arranged as far as possible in a geopolitical pattern in order to show them not as isolated facts but as manifestations of state growth throughout the world.

## PART TWO · GEOPOLITICS IN PRACTICE

### Chapter Four · Geopolitics in Action: the Third Reich

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Adolf Hitler believed that he was the man of destiny of the second quarter of the Twentieth Century. (*Figure 8*) He is the most hated man in the world among the United Nations, while he is the most admired man in the Third Reich among the elite of the Nazis. Adolf Hitler alone is largely responsible for the German military machine of today. He alone has made the decisions of when and where to utilize this machine. He alone is the executive power of a militant, imperial, victorious Germany. The temptation is obvious to compare the Little Corporal of the Nineteenth Century with the World War corporal of the Twentieth. Both were products of revolution — the French Revolution creating human rights, the German Revolution destroying them. Both rose from the masses and poverty to unprecedented power. Neither was a native of the state in which he assumed power — Hitler was born in Austria, while Napoleon saw the light of day in Corsica. Both were realists, seeking to organize Europe along lines favorable to their own philosophies. Great Britain and Russia gave Napoleon fifteen years to organize Europe; the United Nations may not give Hitler that amount of time to carry out his ideas. Those who seek to follow in Napoleon's footsteps cannot escape the ultimate fate of the "man of destiny." Although the careers of the two men are similar in many respects, their personalities vary greatly.

The early life of Adolf Hitler is a story that does not possess the elements of drama but rather of mediocrity. He was born in the Austrian town of Braunau-am-Inn on April 20, 1889. His father, an Austrian customs official, was the illegitimate son of Maria Schicklgruber. He took the name of his supposed father very late in life. The young Adolf was the son of the third wife of Alois Schicklgruber. The political opponents of the Führer in the early 1920's derived pleasure from shouting "Heil Schicklgruber!" Hitler's father died in 1903, and his mother died four years later. At seventeen he went to Vienna, where he lacked sufficient talent to achieve success in art and architecture. Reduced to a building-trades helper in a hostile city, he formed some of his principal ideas as he asserted before the Munich Court of 1924:

"When I was seventeen I came to Vienna, and there I learned to study and observe three important problems: the social question, the race problem, and, finally, the Marxist movement. I left Vienna a confirmed anti-Semite, a deadly foe of the whole Marxist world outlook, a pan-German in my political ideas."

In 1912 he went to Munich, where he managed to earn a living by painting picture-postcards. Hitler hailed the outbreak of the First World War as a godsend. In the

Bavarian army he fought with sufficient fortitude to win the Iron Cross. Throughout his career as a soldier he never received a gift of any kind from the relatives "back home." After the war he became a political agitator. In June, 1919, Hitler was made the seventh member of the "German Labor Party," the nucleus of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (N. S. D. A. P.). He did not become a naturalized German until he ran against Hindenburg for the presidency in 1932. Meanwhile Hitler interpreted his mission as the task of "saving" Germany from the Jews, Social Democrats, Liberals, Communists, and "World Citizens." The putsch of 1923 led by Hitler and Ludendorff resulted in the failure of the N. S. D. A. P. to secure power. The behavior of the Führer in flinging himself to the ground at the first shot is rationalized by the Nazis as a military reflex action. However, Hitler had learned a valuable lesson — in 1933 he did not act against, but with, the rifles of German troops.

With the Great Depression the N. S. D. A. P. grew by leaps and bounds. Industrialists and Junkers were interested in the anti-Communist program of the Nazis. For instance, Fritz Thyssen, the great industrialist of the Ruhr, modestly asserted that he gave a million marks to the party. In the German election of September 14, 1930, the Nazis rose from 12 to 107 deputies in the Reichstag. The Kleinbürgertum was increasingly following Hitler, while the proletariat was paralyzed by feuds. In the election for the presidency neither Hitler nor Hindenburg won a majority on March 13, 1932. In April the president was re-elected by a vote of 19,360,000 to Hitler's 13,400,000. A few months later the Nazis elected 230 deputies, making the largest party in the Reichstag. Incidentally the greatest electoral strength of Hitler coincided with the lowest point of the Great Depression. In a second election for

the Reichstag in 1932 the Nazis lost two million votes, having only 196 deputies. A slight business recovery had ensued between the July and November elections. Hitler had previously asserted that he would accept no lesser position than the chancellorship. In early January, 1933, a bargain was made between Thyssen, Papen, Hugenberg, and Hitler. On January 30, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor, Papen vice-chancellor, and Hugenberg minister of economics. The new cabinet included three Nazis and nine non-Nazis. President Hindenburg solemnly exclaimed: "Forward with God." Germany had entered the Third Reich.

The political philosophy of Adolf Hitler has its origins in the writings of prominent European authors from Karl Haushofer of the school of Geopolitik to Richard Wagner, the composer of grand operas. Georg W. F. Hegel asserted that a strong people will impose its will upon the culture of the age, although he did not state that Germany was a nation destined for the role. Heinrich von Treitschke believed that the state is the highest organ in the external society of man. "War," he asserted, "is both justifiable and moral" and the "ideal of perpetual peace is not only impossible, but immoral as well." President Hindenburg referred to him as "the great von Treitschke" to Ambassador Dodd, who privately confided in his diary that he did not share Hindenburg's opinion. Treitschke, in the minds of Americans of the last war, was an excellent example of the Prussian glorification of blood and iron.

Friedrich W. Nietzsche asserted that European history was a struggle between the master race and conquered peoples. He distorted Darwin's idea of evolution into the will to power. He demanded a master race of supermen perfected biologically and spiritually. He may be classified in that school of German philosophers who stressed materialism. Oswald Spengler foresaw the age



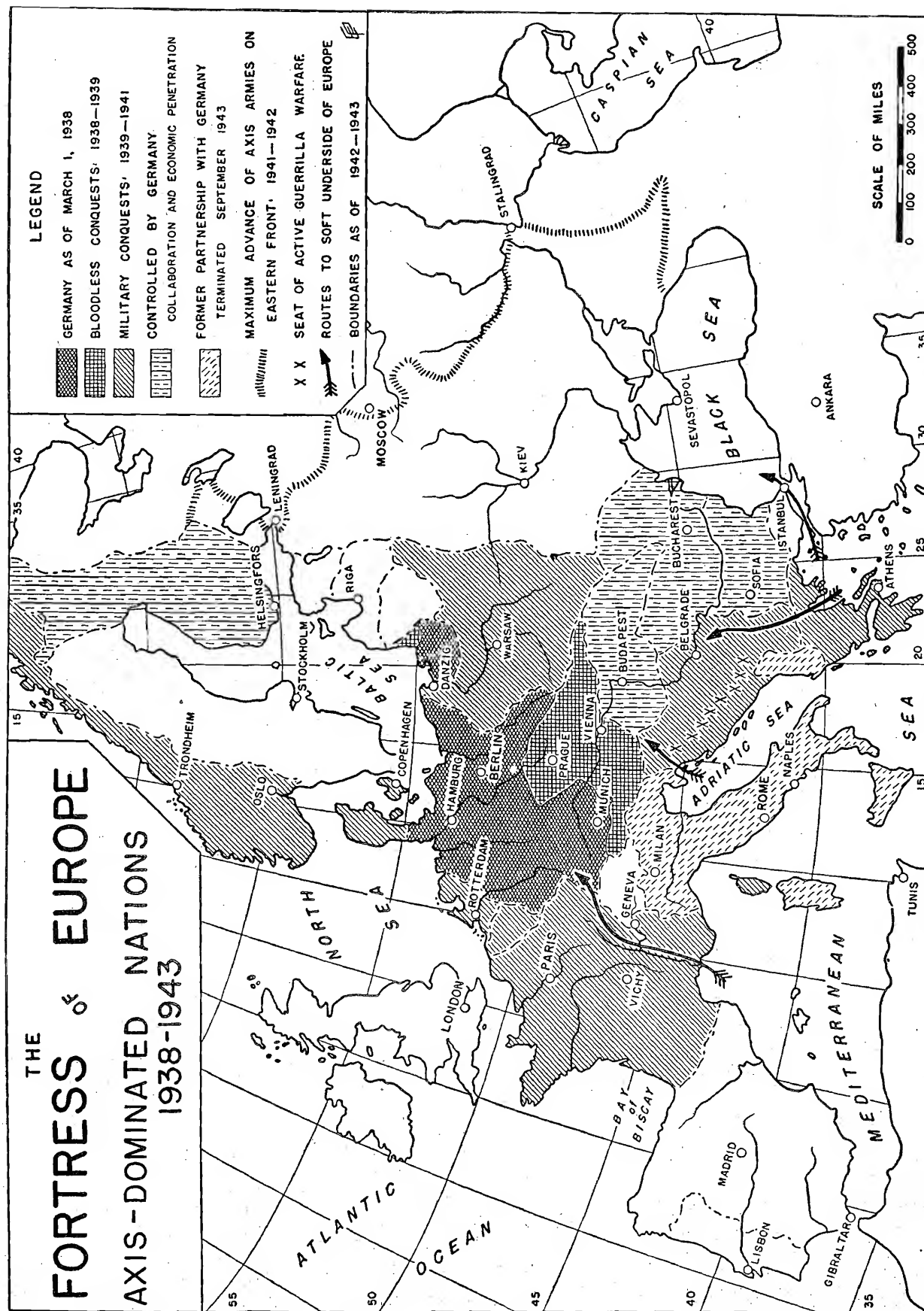


FIG. 8 · THE FORTRESS OF EUROPE · Germany's centralized position and ring of defense show on this map

of technology, the withering of the creative arts, and the end of democracy.

Alfred Rosenberg, the high priest of Nazi ideology, was born in Revel of an old family of Baltic Germans. An anti-Bolshevik in the Russian Revolution, he fled to Munich, where he joined the Nazi Party in 1919. Herr Rosenberg's ideas on race, religion, and Russia have greatly influenced the Führer. Concerning Russia, Herr Rosenberg wrote:

" 'From West to East' is now the direction from the Rhine to the Vistula, 'from West to East' must resound from Moscow to Tomsk. The 'Russian' who cursed Peter and Catherine was a real Russian. Europe should never have been forced upon him. In the future, after the separation of the non-Russian territories (the Western provinces, the Ukraine, the Caucasus) he will have to be content to transfer his center of gravity to Asia. . . . In Europe, which is alien to him and which he hates, there is no room for him any more."<sup>1</sup>

The Nazis try to find their philosophical roots in the early German mythology characterized here by fatalism, a belief that some power is impelling the individual through epic adventures to find destruction. Richard Wagner has provided the material for this viewpoint in the philosophical dissertations of his operas. The *Götterdämmerung* of Valhalla in the "Ring des Nibelungen" portrays Valhalla crashing down in the funeral pyre of its hero. The *Götterdämmerung* of Wagner may be symbolic of the end of Hitler. The Führer even said in 1932: "We may be destroyed, but if we are, we shall drag a world with us — a world in flames."

With these ideas as a background, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* in 1924 while he was in honorary confinement at Landsberg am Lech.

<sup>1</sup>Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1936), p. 576.

The material was generally dictated by Hitler to Hess. In 1926 at Berchtesgaden he repeated and intensified his first version of *Mein Kampf*. No person can understand the theory of the New Order in Europe without a glimpse into the important paragraphs of this "Bible of the German people." The influence of Major General Haushofer is clear in many places. Hitler's viewpoints on international affairs are clear:

"Germany will be either a World Power, or will not be at all. To be a World Power, however, it requires that size which nowadays gives its necessary importance to such a power, and which gives life to its citizens. . . . State frontiers are man-made and can be altered by man. The reality of a nation having managed a disproportionate acquisition of territory is no superior obligation for its eternal recognition. It proves at most the might of the conqueror and the weakness of the victim. And, moreover, this might alone makes right. If the German people today, penned into an impossible area, face a wretched future, this is as little Fate's command as its rejection would constitute a snub to Fate."

Nor does the Führer conceal the methods of his action:

"Oppressed countries will not be brought back into the bosom of a common Reich by means of fiery protests, but by a mighty sword. To forge this sword is the task of the domestic political leadership of a people; to guard the work of forging and to seek comrades in arms is the task of the foreign-policy leadership. . . . One must be quite clear about the fact that the regaining of the lost regions will not come about through solemn appeals to the dear Lord or through pious hopes in a League of Nations, but only by force of arms."

Hitler has stated in *Mein Kampf* the principles of the Pan-German policy that he carried out until March, 1939.

"The fate of this State [Austria] is so closely bound up with the life and growth of the entire German nationality that it is unthinkable to separate its history into German and Austrian. . . . German Austria must return to the great German motherland, and not because of economic considerations of any sort. No, no: even if from the economic point of view this union were unimportant, indeed, if it were harmful, it ought nevertheless to be brought about. Common blood belongs in a common Reich.

...

"Only when the boundaries of the Reich include even the last German . . . does there arise out of the distress of the nation the moral right to acquire foreign soil and territory. . . . The German Reich as a State should include all Germans not only with the task of collecting from the people the most valuable stocks of racially primal elements and preserving them, but also to lead them, gradually and safely, to a dominating position."

The Führer asserts himself definitely on the conquests of old and new lands:

"The acquisition of new land and soil for the settling of the superfluous population has no end of advantages especially when turning away from the present towards the future. . . . Today I am guided by the sober consideration that one does not regain lost territories by means of the glibness of tongue of sharp parliamentarian gabblers, but that one must regain them by means of a sharp sword, that is, through a bloody struggle. . . . The frontiers of the year 1914 signify nothing at all for the future of the German nation. They embodied neither a protection

in the past, nor would they embody strength in the future. . . . We National Socialists must cling unflinchingly to our foreign policy aims, that is to guarantee the German nation the soil and territory to which it is entitled on this earth. And this is the only action which, before God and our German posterity, would seem to justify an investment of blood. . . . Today we are eighty million Germans in Europe! That foreign policy [expansion] will be acknowledged as correct only if, a bare century from now, two hundred and fifty million Germans are living on this continent."

Hitler's references to the policy which Germany should pursue with individual European powers are specific and revealing. The defeat of France and Russia and the friendship of Italy and Britain are Nazi goals. The Führer states:

"An alliance whose aim does not comprise a plan for war is senseless and worthless. . . . Today, however, we are not fighting for position as a world power, but we must struggle for the existence of our Fatherland, or national unity, and for daily bread for our children. If, with this viewpoint, we want to keep our eyes open for European allies, then there remain practically two states: England and Italy. . . . To gain England's favour [in 1919] no sacrifice should have been too great. Then one would have had to renounce colonies and seapower, but to spare British industry our competition. . . . One thing is certain: In one state [Fascist Italy] the existing State power can be regarded as so solidly stabilized, and so unconditionally at the service of national interests, that we can no longer speak of a really effective blocking of political needs by international Jewish forces. . . .

"We must at last become entirely clear about this: the German people's irrecon-

cilable mortal enemy is and remains France. . . . The final goal of her foreign-policy activity would always be an effort to hold the Rhine frontier and to guarantee this stream by means of a disintegrated and dismembered Germany. . . . Every Power which, like us, finds intolerable France's aspiration to domination over the continent is today our natural ally. No path to such a Power must seem too difficult to us and no renunciation must seem unspeakable if the end result offers only the possibility of subduing our most enraged enemies. . . .

"Only a sufficiently extensive area of this globe guarantees a nation freedom of existence. . . . We take up at the halting place of six hundred years ago. We terminate the endless German drive to the south and west of Europe, and direct our gaze towards the lands of the east. . . . But if we talk about new soil and territory in Europe today we can think primarily of Russia and its vassal border states."

Finally the Führer, aware of the Franco-Russian role in the beginning of the First World War, states:

"Never tolerate the establishment of two continental powers in Europe. See an attack on Germany in any attempt to organize a military power on the frontiers of Germany, be it only in the form of the creation of a State capable of becoming a military power, and, in that case, regard it not only a right but a duty, to prevent the establishment of such a State by all means including the application of armed force, or, in the event that such a one be already founded, to repress it."

Concerning the problem of peace the Führer writes:

"He who actually desires, with all his heart, the victory of the pacifistic idea in this

world would have to stand up, with all available means, for the conquest of the world by the Germans; for if it should come about the other way round, then, with the last German, the last pacifist would die off. . . . Indeed, the pacifist-humane idea is perhaps quite good whenever the man of the highest standard has previously conquered and subjected the world to a degree that makes him the only master of this globe. . . . Therefore, first fight, and then one may see what can be done. . . . If, in its historical development, the German people had possessed this group unity as it was enjoyed by other peoples, then the German Reich would today probably be the mistress of this globe. . . ."

There might have been a "peace, supported not by the palm branches of tearful pacifist professional female mourners, but founded by the victorious sword of a people of overlords which puts the world into the service of a higher culture."

What is this conception of government or way of life that the Führer and the Duce sought to spread all over Europe? Mussolini has proclaimed that:

"A nation, as expressed in the State, is a living, ethical entity only in so far as it is progressive. Inactivity is death. Therefore the State is not only Authority which governs and confers legal form and spiritual value on individual wills, but it is also Power which makes its will felt and respected beyond its own frontiers, thus affording practical proof of the universal character of the decisions necessary to ensure its development."

Adolf Hitler asserts that:

"The State is a means to an end. Its end is the preservation and the promotion of a community of physically and psychically

equal living beings. This very preservation comprises first the racial stock and thereby it permits the free development of all the forces slumbering in this race. . . . We, as Aryans, are therefore able to imagine a state only to be the living organism of a nationality. . . ."

One of the fundamental ideas of Fascism is the supremacy of the state. The individual is nothing; the state is everything. The Duce considered Italy as a spiritual conception along the tradition of Imperial Rome which turned the Mediterranean into Mare Nostrum for the Caesars of the Seven Hills. The Führer bases his state on the principle of race. Both denied the class struggle of the Communists; both have refrained from repudiating capitalism; both considered war a sublime expression of manhood. In Italy and Germany hierarchy, authority, and discipline replaced democracy. Italians shouted "Believe, Obey, Fight," while Germans exclaimed "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer." Two words, "capitalistic collectivism," summarized the totalitarian theory in Rome and Berlin.

The Reich of Adolf Hitler rests on three pillars — the state, the N. S. D. A. P. and the "Volk." The Führer is the bond which unites the three. The "Volk" is a community of people united by common cultural, historical, and racial bonds. Not only does the "Volk" extend beyond the boundaries of the state but it may also exclude individuals within the state. Germans of German citizenship who live outside the Reich are called "Auslandsdeutsche." They are organized in a foreign "Gau" ruled by the Foreign Organization of the Nazi party (N. S. F. O.) headed by Ernst Bohle. This man is also Chief of the Foreign Organization in the Foreign Office who has charge of the Volksdeutsche or "racial" Germans who have taken foreign citizenship. The organization for them is the "Volksbund

für das Deutschtum im Ausland" (V. D. A.). Co-operating with both is the German Foreign Institute at Stuttgart, with a library of books, newspapers, and magazines for Germans abroad. The racial nationalism of the Nazis has a slogan "Blut und Boden," which symbolizes the Nazi predilection for the old Germanic race and the mystical reverence for the German homeland. Out of this has arisen another German term "Weltanschauung," or world outlook. This is determined by racial considerations. The elite of the species are the Nordics; Slavs and Orientals are "sub-humanity"; Negroes are half-apes; and Jews are parasites at the bottom of the social ladder. The Nazi conception of Weltanschauung is anti-intellectual, anti-Semitic, anti-Marxist, anti-foreign, and anti-pacifist.

After Hitler became chancellor of the Third Reich on January 30, 1933, he promptly reorganized Germany along the lines of a Fascist state. Taking Mussolini as his model, he borrowed many features from the Italian state across the Alps. With the fall of France in June, 1940, the leading aspects of the Third Reich were extended across the frontiers under the name of the New Order. The government structure of Germany was greatly altered. The offices of president and chancellor were combined into one after the death of President von Hindenburg in 1934. The Bundesrat was abolished, while the Reichstag was reduced to the position of applauding the Führer's addresses and of listening to the grand operas of Richard Wagner. Elections to the Reichstag are in the form of approval or rejection of the one list of candidates prepared by the Nazis. Plebiscites on important issues are frequently held, but the results are always pre-determined. The constituent states have become only administrative units controlled by Nazi governors appointed in Berlin. All guarantees

of individual freedom under the Weimar constitution have been in abeyance since February, 1933. Cases of high treason are tried in secrecy by a People's Court consisting of professional judges, and of military, police, and party officials. The Gestapo and the concentration camp are always near.

The Nazi party is organized on the basis of a hierarchy — districts, circles, local groups, and street cells. The Praetorian Guard is the Schutzstaffel (S. S.), while the Storm Troopers (S. A.) numbered 2,500,000 in 1934. The Hitler Youth comprises boys from ten to eighteen years old and girls from ten to twenty-one. Youngsters above fourteen are included respectively in the Hitler Youth proper and the League for German Girls. At the age of eighteen the young men enter the labor service for six months, followed by two years of army training. A thousand selected Nazis between twenty-eight and thirty years old are admitted each year for a four-year course in leadership. The guiding principles of education in Nazi Germany are militarism and the glorification of war. The "Nazi Primer" for the Hitler Youth is indicative of the type of education the young German receives. The National Chamber of Culture, presided over by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, appropriately with the title of Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, includes seven Chambers: press, radio, theater, motion pictures, sculpture and painting, and music and literature.

The Nazis have also proclaimed child-bearing the sacred duty of the German Nordics. Taxes on bachelors and subsidies for large families are conducive to this end. The improvement of the race through eugenics is ardently sought. Eugenics Courts function in the Third Reich to prevent the propagation of undesirable offspring. Mercy killings are frequent according to reliable

reports from Berlin. The marriage of a German to an individual of an alien race, especially a Jew, is considered a crime against the state. The Nuremberg laws of September, 1935, and subsequent acts have removed the Jews from public life and from the professions, have deprived them of virtually all means of livelihood, and have subjected them to a humiliating social ostracism.

The Nazis have been unable to win a complete victory over the churches of Germany. Rosenberg has sought to create a religion based on "blood and soil" with no rival faiths. Some enthusiastic Nazis state that God is Germany, Christ is Hitler, and the Bible is *Mein Kampf*. Hitler himself pictures God as an objective and disinterested Great Scorer writing results in a Book of Life and Death. Lutheran churchmen have opposed the ecclesiastical rule of Nazi Reichsbischof Müller. Martin Niemoeller is still in a concentration camp because of the courage of his convictions. Catholic leaders opposed Nazi efforts to destroy the Catholic youth organization and church education. Relations between the Pope and the Führer remain unfriendly.

Industry, agriculture, and labor have been organized in five "estates" whose leaders and policies are determined by the government. The Labor Front embraces both capital and labor, regulating the relations between them. This is the organization that sponsors the "Strength through Joy" movement providing for the leisure and recreation of the masses. The organization for Trade and Industry includes all industrial, commercial, and craft enterprises. The crafts have a separate organization of guilds and Chambers of Handicrafts. The Agricultural Estate supervises a comprehensive marketing system. Fixed prices, specified markets, and predetermined quotas are the general rule. The culture estate is



the fifth, although it varies largely from the rest in substance.

The first four-year plan was announced in 1933 to end unemployment and to rehabilitate German agriculture. Unemployment was liquidated by public works, housing, and later rearmament. The Hereditary Homestead Law of 1933 protected the peasant from foreclosure and loss of land, but he was required to leave his farm to a single heir. The Blood Purge of June, 1934, removed from the party those Nazis who sought to carry out the Socialist planks in the National Socialist platform. The second four-year plan aimed at a vast increase in the production of synthetic goods in order to make Germany independent of foreign sources of basic raw materials. "Cannon before butter" became a slogan in the Third Reich as Göring assumed a new role of economic dictator. The pre-war organization of Reich economy aided the State to a great degree when the war finally came. On August 30, 1939, Göring became head of the newly organized Ministerial Council for Reich Defense. Geoffrey Crowthers, editor of "The Economist," asserts that the major difference between the German and Russian systems is the private ownership of capital, which has not been abolished in Germany. The Reich has come nearer to Bolshevism under National Socialism than she would have under the Weimar Republic. Thus in seven years of peace, Nazi Germany prepared the blueprint which the Reich would extend in various modifications over most of Europe.

Many of the ideas of Major General Haushofer were indicated in the foreign policy of the Reich. As soon as Adolf Hitler rose to power in January, 1933, he revived the old dream of the German expansionists. The Führer has logically followed five successive steps in his mastery of Europe. First he demanded Gleichberechtigung, or equal-

ity of rights, for Germany with the destruction of the "criminal" Treaty of Versailles. Indeed, the German people transferred their attentions to the hated treaty and forgot or ignored the effects of the conflict itself. Next, Hitler pursued a Pan German policy, ultimately bringing the Germans of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Memel into the Reich without a war. The next step was the development of the theory of Lebensraum for the Germans. This theory passed into reality with the proclamation of the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March, 1939. The invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War led to the military extinction of Poland and the economic intensification of the fulfillment of the Nazi Lebensraum in Europe. The German Drang nach Osten is the fourth step in the development of Hitler's plans for Europe. Probably the goal was more the city of Kiev in the Ukraine than the city of Baghdad in Mesopotamia. The economic conquest of Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, with the military conquest of Greece and Yugoslavia, brought the Drang nach Osten to the shadows of the Straits and the boundaries of the Ukraine. With the collapse of France, the Nazis reached their fifth step of continental expansion, namely the development of the theory of Grossraumwirtschaft or continental economy. The builders of the New Order in Europe and the creators of the New Order in Greater East Asia interpret the world in terms of great continental regions, with each master country "in its own proper sphere." These five steps — Gleichberechtigung, Pan-Germanism, Lebensraum, Drang nach Osten and Grossraumwirtschaft — are not entirely distinct from one another, although the general tendency is clearly revealed. The student of German history is well aware of the general lack of originality in the development of the Nazi program.

The series of diplomatic steps by which

Hitler destroyed the Versailles Treaty are brilliant in their timing and execution. He withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations on October 14, 1933. The plebiscite in the Saar and the Nazi control of Danzig increased his popularity. On March 7, 1935, he ended the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. In June, Britain and the Reich agreed that the German navy should be 35 per cent as large as the British navy, although parity of submarines was granted. The most significant step of the Führer was the repudiation of the Locarno pacts and the remilitarization of the Rhineland on March 16, 1936. (Figure 9) The Führer calculated correctly

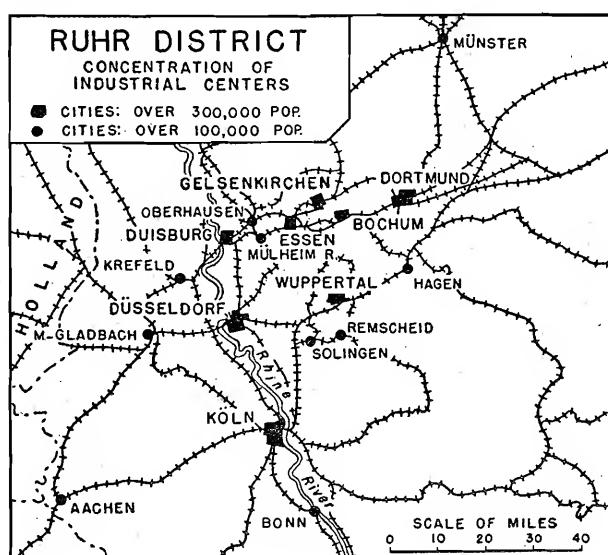


FIG. 9 · RUHR DISTRICT · From one city the smoke of another can be seen in this R.A.F. target area

that Italy would not co-operate with England and France because of League sanctions over Ethiopia, and that Britain would do nothing, with France and Belgium left to act alone. Strong action by France would have forced the Nazis to withdraw their troops, since Germany was not ready to fight. The remilitarization of the Rhineland meant the doom of effective French or British military aid to countries in eastern Europe. In July, the outbreak of the civil

war in Spain gave the Nazis and Fascists a chance to place in the end a pro-Fascist government in power. On November 25, 1936, Germany and Japan concluded the anti-Comintern pact to which Italy adhered in November, 1937.

After Hitler had secured the rearmament of the Reich and the remilitarization of the Rhineland, he directed his efforts toward the ideal of Pan Germanism. The Pan Germanism of the Nazis has its roots in the Pan Germanism of the Kaiser. The Heligoland Treaty of 1890, sacrificing some of German claims in Africa, led to the formation of the General German League, which was reorganized in 1894 as the Pan German League. This included professors, teachers, business men, officials, and professional people. It combined efforts with the Colonial Society and the Navy League. Its leaders wanted a central European customs union with the Dutch, Swiss, Austrians, and Scandinavians united in the greater German Empire. Although the leaders of the Pan German League stated their desire of strengthening the German ideal through peaceful methods, foreigners refused to accept such a "naïve" conception. Since their membership was never large, their influence in Germany was far beyond their numbers. Many people were convinced that the aim of the Germans was the domination of Europe and of the world. As an example, the famous book *Germany and the Next War*, by General Friedrich von Bernhardi, glorifying war contributed little to a peaceful interpretation of German policy.

Two of the principles of the Pan Germanism of the First Reich have been especially favored by the attentions of the Nazis — the idea of the Nordic race and the unity of all Germans in one Reich. The Treaty of Versailles had reduced the population of Germany from 67,812,000 to 60,000,000, and the area from 208,780 square miles to

181,500 square miles. Before the outbreak of the present war, Hitler had increased the population to 88,000,000 and the area to 258,863 square miles. The principal European areas in which Germans lived outside the Second Reich were the Saarland, Austria, Sudetenland, Memelland, western Poland and the South Tyrol. The German minorities were Hitler's "human dynamite." With the conquest of Poland, Hitler had brought all these Germans "back" into the Reich with the exception of the South Tyrol. The addition of 41,314,000 people to the population through annexation and conquest increased the total population of Great Germany to 110,000,000 prior to the Scandinavian Campaign.

Not only in *Mein Kampf* but also in his speeches after he became dictator, Hitler stressed the theme that common blood belonged to a common Reich. On February 20, 1938, he told the Reichstag: "To these interests of the German Reich belongs also the protection of those German people who are not in a position to secure along our frontiers their political and philosophical freedom by their own efforts." He reached his climax on this point at the famous Nuremberg Congress of September 12, 1938, when he thundered concerning the Sudeten Germans:

"And I say that if these tortured creatures cannot obtain rights and assistance by themselves, they can obtain both from us. . . . What the Germans demand is the right of self-determination, which every other nation also possesses. It is not up to Herr Beneš to give the Sudeten Germans gifts. They have the right to claim a life of their own just as much as any other people."

Austria was an early target for the German expansionists. Seven of Hitler's ten million "unredeemed" Germans lived in that coun-

try. Nazi propaganda in 1933 had led to the creation of a semi-Fascist government at Vienna headed by Chancellor Dollfuss and guided by Mussolini. The murder of the Austrian Chancellor on July 25, 1934, in a Nazi putsch led to the immediate dispatch of Italian troops to the Brenner Pass. On July 11, 1936, an agreement was made between Austria and Germany by which Hitler agreed to respect the independence of the former while normal trade and travel relations were restored. In April, 1937, Mussolini withdrew all promises of Italian support to the anti-Nazi government of Chancellor Schuschnigg in Vienna. In February, 1938, the Austrian Chancellor arrived at Berchtesgaden, where he was presented an ultimatum. This demanded the release of all Nazi prisoners in Austria; the appointment of two Austrian Nazis in the cabinet; and full political rights for the Austrian Nazis. On March 9 Schuschnigg decided to have a plebiscite on Austrian independence. On March 11 he received two ultimatums from Berlin, the first calling for the cancellation of the plebiscite, the second for his resignation. France was in the midst of a cabinet crisis, Ribbentrop was conveniently in London, Mussolini had gone skiing. Although Schuschnigg resigned, German troops marched in at the ostensible invitation of the new Austrian chancellor, Seyss-Inquart. The German troops supported the nominees of Herr Hitler, who had too weak a minority in Austria without Nazi soldiers. The Austria whose mission was to purvey the German spirit and culture to the world in such a way as to win admiration was gone. Hitler, speaking at Linz on March 12, asserted: "It is not the wish of only a few to found this new Pan Germany, but it is the will of the German people itself." From Linz, the Führer telegraphed to the Duce — "Mussolini, I shall never forget it." Austria was quickly incorporated

in the Reich. In a plebiscite held in Great Germany on April 10, a combined vote of 99.08 was achieved for Anschluss. Meanwhile the Nazis rushed assimilation in the Ostmark. The Gestapo was established; a gradual reduction of customs began; the mark replaced the schilling; operas, theaters, newspapers, and schools were placed under the Nazis; libraries, art galleries, and museums were purged of non-Aryan material. Hitler was unable to wait very long in consolidating his gains because he feared that appeasement might be substituted for resistance with British and French rearmament.

The collapse of Austria meant the doom of Czechoslovakia. In this republic lived three and a quarter million Germans. According to the Czech census of 1930, the population of the republic was 14,729,536 with 66.92 per cent Czechoslovak, 22.32 per cent German, 4.78 per cent Hungarian, 3.79 per cent Ruthenian, and 0.56 per cent Polish. At the peace conference of 1919 economic and strategic reasons demanded the unity of Bohemia and Sudetenland. The old Austrian-Hungarian Empire, in spite of its many faults, possessed the virtue of being an economic unity in the Danubian Basin. Sudetenland had been ruled by the Hapsburgs and not by the Hohenzollerns. Many Americans at the peace conference believed that certain areas of Sudetenland should go to Germany after a plebiscite, but the French absolutely opposed this step. The French representative on the Czechoslovak Commission remarked that the extension of plebiscites to all German districts would reduce the Czech state to "very slender proportions." The problem was more complex since the cession of the German territories in Czechoslovakia would result in the domination of central Europe by the Reich.

Although the German minority was the best treated of any minority in Europe, with full educational opportunities and complete

parliamentary representation, the public officials were generally Czechs and the economic misery among the German workers was intense after the depression. In 1935 Konrad Henlein's Sudetendeutsche Partei captured sixty per cent of the German vote. He demanded full liberty for the Germans to proclaim their Germanism and the renunciation of the Czech alliances with France and Russia. In May, 1938, a war scare developed, with German and Czech troops concentrated along the frontier. Hitler withdrew the troops after France affirmed her support of Czechoslovakia, with Russia and Britain opposing German aggression. At the suggestion of Lord Runciman, a special British envoy at Praha, the Czechs agreed to a cantonal division of the republic along the lines of the Swiss model.

On September 12, the Führer at Nürnberg demanded the right of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans, "these tortured creatures." Riots among the "tortured creatures" and the Czech proclamation of martial law on September 13 led Neville Chamberlain to announce that he would fly to Berchtesgaden to see Herr Hitler. The Führer demanded the immediate inclusion of the Sudeten Germans in the Third Reich, even at the cost of a general war. After a meeting of prominent French and British officials in London, President Beneš, who had not been consulted, was ordered to deliver "the districts mainly inhabited by the Sudeten Germans" to the Reich. Czechoslovakia decided to yield with the understanding that France and Britain would guarantee the independence of what was left of the republic, and that the lands transferred to Germany would not be occupied by German troops until the frontiers had been delimited.

Chamberlain flew once more to Canossa, this time located at Godesberg. After the prime minister had informed Hitler of the

Czech concessions, the Führer uttered the fatal words: "Es tut mir furchtbar leid; aber das geht nicht mehr." He demanded the immediate military occupation of the areas to be ceded and the annexation of regions of mixed or doubtful language. In a speech in Berlin on September 26, 1938, the Führer proclaimed: "On October 1 he [Beneš] will have to hand over to us this area. . . . I have further assured him, and I repeat it here, that when this problem is solved there is for Germany no further territorial problem in Europe. . . . We want no Czechs." Praha rejected the Godesberg ultimatum; the British mobilized their fleet; the French, their army; Russia announced her support. War seemed inevitable until Hitler, at the request of Mussolini, postponed mobilization twenty-four hours and invited Daladier and Chamberlain to meet Mussolini and himself at Munich.

The Munich Agreement of September 29, 1938, carved up Czechoslovakia in accordance with the Godesberg ultimatum. Four zones were to be occupied in four stages instead of one stage, while a fifth zone was created in which plebiscites were to be held. In reality the Nazis took what they desired, including the fortifications and major portions of the industries, marched within forty miles of Praha, and acquired a minority of 800,000 Czechs in the Third Reich. Close on the heels of the "tiger" appeared the "hyena" and "jackal" for their share in the loot. Poland seized Teschen, while Hungary grabbed Bratislava and surrounding territory. Hitler had triumphed in Czechoslovakia because of the tactical strength of the Reich, because of the unwillingness of France and England to risk war, because of the support of Italy, and because of the geographical location of the Greater Germany. From the western side of the Atlantic the Munich settlement resembled more of an armistice than a peace.

The remnant of Czechoslovakia became a semi-Fascist state under the control of the Third Reich. The French alliance, the Russian alliance, the Little Entente died. After Munich, even Italy was forced to play a subordinate role in Europe and seek her territorial expansion in Africa and the Mediterranean. On November 30, Dr. Emil Hácha was elected president after Dr. Edward Beneš had resigned. The Germans demanded a corridor across the country for a military highway. They controlled the destinies of Slovakia and Ruthenia. Friction broke out between President Hácha and Dr. Tiso, premier of Slovakia. After the former dismissed the latter, the Führer summoned the Czech president to Berlin. Before Dr. Hácha had reached the German capital, the Nazi army had started south. As the Czech president signed away the independence of the country, German troops entered Praha. Bohemia and Moravia became Nazi protectorates, Slovakia, an "independent state," and Ruthenia was annexed by Hungary. Memel was quickly taken from Lithuania, while Italy seized Albania in April.

The entrance of German troops into Praha on March 15 marked a turning point in German expansion as well as in European foreign relations. Neville Henderson has called it "a political blunder of the first magnitude." Prime Minister Chamberlain at Birmingham raised the questions: "Is this the end of an old adventure or is it the beginning of a new? Is this the last attack upon a small State or is it to be followed by others? Is this, in fact, a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?" The *New York Times* in a significant editorial remarked: "Hitler has gone to Prague as the conqueror of alien soil. And the rumble of German cannon through the streets of that forsaken city tells the world that Germany is marching east. . . . The

one recompense for all this is that he has shown the world the value of a Nazi promise and the real purpose of the German Reich." The Führer in his decree for the protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia stated:

"For a thousand years Bohemia and Moravia were part of the living space of the German people. . . . Sooner or later Germany as the power most strongly interested through its historical and geographical position and, as the power most seriously affected, was destined to bear the most serious consequences. It is therefore by the law of self-survival that the German Reich is determined to intervene decisively again to erect the foundation of reasonable Central European order and to proclaim decrees accordingly."

The occupation of Praha also marked a change in the Nazi ideology from the uniting of all Germans in a common Reich to the idea of the German Lebensraum. The Nazi conception of Lebensraum was an extension of the idea of Pan Germanism after most of the Germans had been brought "home to the Reich." The concept of Mittel-Europa in the days before the First World War was similar to the idea of Lebensraum. If the map of Europe were drawn in accordance with the principles of nationality, a Mittel-Europa under German hegemony would result. Friedrich Naumann, in his famous book on Mittel-Europa in 1915, asserted that the day of small nations was over, since only large units could survive. He believed that a continuation of the war union with Austria, the addition of the Balkans, and a permanent alliance with Turkey were desirable. There was much less enthusiasm for Mittel-Europa in the Dual Monarchy than in the German Empire, since the non-German peoples in the Austro-Hungarian Empire were definitely opposed. The plans of Naumann collapsed in the ashes of the German defeat in 1918.

What do the Nazis mean by Lebensraum? The propagandists of the Reich painted a rosy picture in April, 1940, shortly before the fall of France. In the economic, strategic, and diplomatic aspects of Lebensraum, the Nazis were clear:

"Economically, living space means a region sufficiently large and varied in economic structure to make possible a reasonable standard of living for the peoples inhabiting the area. Successful realization of such economic security is dependent on systematic cooperation for common goals. The region must be large enough to make the cooperating nationalities fairly independent of the economic policy of nations controlling the sources of raw materials."

"Strategically considered, living space can be interpreted as an area sufficiently large and sufficiently endowed with quickly available energies, food stuffs and raw materials to grant the participating peoples protection against domination by some great maritime hegemony; in other words a cooperative combination which will not be dependent for life and death on a great sea-power but which will be able to bargain on equal terms.

"Diplomatically speaking, living space is a region where 'a good neighbor' policy leads to mutual trust among the cooperative states. An atmosphere of understanding will prevail. The participating states will give each other guarantees of friendly relations and will agree to make no alliances against each other, particularly not as the allies or better tools of some outside power. Lasting peace and free world trade can only be based on the gradual realization of constructive regional programs. Regional security is an essential foundation for assuring peace and freedom to the nations of the world."

<sup>2</sup> "Lebensraum," Facts in Review, *German Library of Information*, II (April 15, 1940), p. 196.



Adolf Hitler, on a visit to Rome, stated on May 7, 1938, with regard to the growth of German-Italian friendship:

"In this way there has been created in Europe a bloc of 120,000,000 people who are determined to safeguard their eternal vital rights and to defend themselves against all those forces which might venture to oppose their natural development. . . . That frontier will then render possible the happiness of a permanent cooperation peacefully secured through the definite separation of the living-spaces of the two nations, but it will also serve as a bridge for essential help and support."

However, the Führer has been very definite about his own Lebensraum. On February 24, 1940, he said: "We Germans lay no claim to world domination. We only ask to be left alone in our own living space. But, as far as this living space is concerned, we permit no interference."

The essence of the conception of Lebensraum lies in the relationship of the number and growth of the population on the one hand and the size and value of the territory on the other. Hitler said at Wilhelmshaven in April, 1939: "For 300 years this England acted without virtue in order now in maturity to speak of virtue. Thus it could appear that during this British period without justice 46,000,000 Englishmen have subdued nearly one-fourth of the world while 80,000,000 Germans, because of their virtue, must live at a rate of 140 to one square kilometer." The Lebensraum of Hitler does not include an area sufficient for living under a system of free exchange of goods, but a domain sufficiently comprehensive to give the Reich complete freedom of action.

The Nazis assert that there are three "degrees" of Lebensraum: first, the organic unity between man and his environ-

ment, such as the peasant and his soil; second, the inherent unity between race and territory, such as the German race and the German soil; and third, the unity of cultural ties, even beyond the economic Lebensraum. The Nazi Lebensraum rests on three premises: the belief in the superiority of the German race as the torchbearer of Aryan civilization, the might of the German army in a world where might makes right, and the limited area of Germany in comparison with many other powers. The German Lebensraum is a very elastic term, depending upon the requirements of modern warfare. Nazi ideology usually preceded military reality. In the Nazi Primer the Germans refer to central Europe as their Lebensraum; then the idea was expanded to include eastern, southeastern, and northeastern Europe. This meant that the Ukraine, the Balkans, and the Balticum were included in the Lebensraum. Very shortly the Drang nach Osten became an important factor in Nazi ideology.

The whole Axis concept of living-space is open to considerable question. Lebensraum for whom? In the eyes of the subjected peoples of Europe, Lebensraum resembles Todesraum. Isaiah Bowman, a prominent geographer, has stated:

"There is no such thing as an 'organic boundary' in a territorial sense. The philosophy of Lebensraum is open to abuse like the arguments based on history and military necessity. Even if boundaries were adjusted to national needs and if proper economic advantages were given to every nation, the equilibrium would last but for a moment. . . . National power, like individual power, is composed to a marked degree of intangibles not susceptible of statistical expression."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah Bowman, *The New World* (New York, 1928), p. 266.

The German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia led to the formation of a "peace front" of nations that were fearful of German aggression. Britain and France exchanged pledges of mutual assistance with Poland and Turkey, with unilateral guarantees to Greece and Rumania. Meanwhile German relations with Poland were growing worse. Shortly after the occupation of Praha the Führer had demanded the return of Danzig and the right to build German communication facilities across the Polish Corridor to East Prussia. Nearly a million Germans were scattered in Poland, especially in Posen, Pomorze, and Silesia. The Nazis claimed there were 1,700,000 Germans in Poland, while the Poles said there were only 800,000. Danzig, where the population was predominantly German, had been separated from the Reich in order to give the Poles access to the sea.

On April 28, 1939, Hitler abrogated the Polish-German non-aggression pact as well as the Anglo-German naval treaty. On May 22, Italy and Germany signed an alliance in Berlin which was offensive as well as defensive, designed to rebuild Europe on a new basis of "justice" and to provide "living space" for the two members. On August 23, 1939, Germany and Russia concluded a non-aggression pact in which the two countries undertook to refrain from any act of aggression directed against each other, to consult on common issues, and to settle any conflict between them by peaceful means.

Negotiations between Britain and Germany over Poland were reaching a climax. The evidence indicates that Hitler was determined to carry out his Polish aims even if it meant a world war. Hitler sought to get the British Government to force Poland to accept another Munich. Furthermore, Ribbentrop had assured the Führer that Britain would not fight. Toward the end of the negotia-

tions the Nazis tried to get the British to produce a Polish envoy in Berlin to negotiate a treaty. On August 30, Herr von Ribbentrop read a lengthy document of sixteen points in German at "top speed" to Sir Neville Henderson. The German foreign minister refused to give the British ambassador a copy of the text, asserting that it was now "too late," as a Polish envoy had not arrived in Berlin by midnight. On August 31 the German Government broadcast the sixteen-point program that had not been communicated to Warsaw and had only been read rapidly in German to Henderson. The program was very liberal, including the return of Danzig to Germany, the Polish retention of Gdynia, and a plebiscite on the corridor with the loser acquiring communication facilities across the corridor. The circumstances surrounding the publication of the sixteen points throw doubt on their sincerity. The invasion of Poland began at 5 A.M. on September 1, with the British and French declarations of war on September 3.

The foreign policy of Poland had been based on the idea of "balance" — to keep Russia and Germany apart and to get outside assistance in case of an attack from one of those states. If Russia or Germany should ever go to war or form an alliance, the independence of Poland would be jeopardized. In three short weeks the Blitzkrieg against Poland had conquered the country. On September 17, Soviet troops entered the eastern area of Poland. This was followed by a treaty on September 28, settling the "final" German-Soviet frontier in Poland. The Germans acquired the territory in which a majority of the Poles were living, while the Soviets obtained the land peopled principally by White Russians and Ukrainians. All in all, Germany acquired an additional 21 million people, Russia 14 million, and Lithuania 500,000 in the area around Vilna. The Fourth Partition of

Poland gave the Germans and Russians the opportunity to carry out their respective policies of the past with the Poles — the Russian "incorporation and domination"; the German "domination and extermination." The Germans divided their share of Poland into two parts. The western part, which included all the German territory before the First World War, was annexed outright as well as the Free City of Danzig; the eastern part was organized as the "Gouvernement General of Poland" under Dr. Hans Frank.

The Blitzkrieg in Poland was followed by the "Sitzkrieg," from September 28, 1939, to April 9, 1940. During this time England and France derived comfort from the Maginot Line and the blockade of the Reich, while Hitler, on October 6, vaguely suggested peace before the Reichstag, and on November 8 narrowly escaped death at the Munich beer parlor explosion. Russia occupied the center of the stage by her war with Finland from November 30, 1939, to March 12, 1940. The rule of the Soviet Union in the partition of Poland, the absorption of the Baltic states, and the war with Finland produced the term "Imperial Soviets."

On April 9, 1940, the "Sitzkrieg" came to a quick conclusion. The iron ore from the mines of northern Sweden was necessary for the Reich. Furthermore, the Führer desired to outflank England by seizing Scandinavia. He would then be assured of an iron supply as well as be able to impair the Allied blockade. The Allies, on the other hand, wanted a more effective blockade of Scandinavia. On April 8, England mined several points along the coast of Norway to intercept shipments to Germany, but Nazi invasion forces were already on the way. On April 9, at 5:15 A.M., Denmark was occupied by the Germans. King Christian acquiesced before overwhelming odds.

Oslo, capital of Norway, fell at 4 P.M., while King Haakon fled to Hamar. Sweden mobilized her troops, but affirmed her neutrality. British forces quickly occupied the Faroe Islands. Iceland and Greenland repudiated their ties with Denmark. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, asserted: "For myself, I consider that Hitler's action in invading Scandinavia is as great a strategic and political blunder as that which was committed by Napoleon in 1807, when he invaded Spain." German troops had landed in Narvik, Trondheim, Bergen, Stavanger, and Kristiansand. British troops quickly landed at Namsos, Aandalsnes, and in the vicinity of Narvik. The Germans marched north from Oslo and east from western ports. On April 30, the Nazis from Trondheim met the Germans from Oslo. During the first week in May the British left Aandalsnes and Namsos. King Haakon fled to England; the Norwegian army surrendered; Major Quisling posed as spokesman of the Norwegians. The Allies lost the Scandinavian campaign because of the air superiority of the Germans, the work of fifth columnists, the fear of taking naval risks in the Skagerrak and Trondheim Fjord, and the brilliant planning of the Germans in the campaign. The Chamberlain Cabinet was upheld in England by a vote of only 281 to 200. Winston Churchill rose to prominence as potential executive material.

Nazi success in Scandinavia was a prelude to greater triumphs. On May 10, Hitler informed the German troops in his Order of the Day:

"For three hundred years it was the aim of the English and French rulers to prevent every real consolidation of Europe and, above all, to hold Germany in weakness and impotency. . . . Germany shall be dashed to pieces and reduced to small States. With that the Reich will lose its political power

and with it the possibility of securing for the German people their living rights on this earth. . . . The fighting beginning today decides the fate of the German nation for the next thousand years."

The invasion of Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium occurred at dawn. Luxembourg offered no resistance, while Grand Duchess Charlotte fled to France. In the Netherlands and Belgium parachute troops landed before dawn, airports were attacked, armored divisions smashed frontiers, and fifth-column activity flared. Foreign Minister Van Kleffens of the Netherlands quickly instructed the Dutch ministers in Paris and London to open their secret instructions, calling for British and French aid in case of such an emergency. "Schrecklichkeit" was the proper word for the German invasion. Although a delay in the surrender of Rotterdam occurred, the city was bombed for two and a half hours; a quarter of the metropolis was reduced to ashes, leaving 20,000 dead in the flaming wreckage. Late on May 14, General Winkelman ordered the Dutch troops to stop fighting. The royal family and the cabinet fled to London. A few days later the Queen broadcast to her people: "To remain true to the motto of the House of Orange, of Holland, of all the immense part of the world that is fighting for what is infinitely more precious than life: I shall maintain."

Meanwhile the German armies were crashing through Belgium and France. Brussels fell on May 17; Antwerp, May 18; Arras, Amiens, Abbeville, May 21; and the British Expeditionary Force and the Belgian army, as well as several French divisions, were cut off from contact with French forces south of the Somme. The Belgian cabinet fled to Dunkerque, London, and thence to Paris. Leopold decided to surrender on May 28, although his cabinet had

opposed it. The Battle of Flanders ended with the British withdrawal at Dunkerque from May 29 to June 3. The situation in France was growing more serious hour by hour. Germany had sent her heaviest panzer divisions across Luxembourg and southern Belgium through the Ardennes. Sedan fell on May 14; Pétain became Vice Premier on May 18; Weygand succeeded Gamelin on May 19; the Weygand Line was formed south of the Somme; the Battle of France with 40 French divisions facing 100 German divisions began on June 5; Rouen, Soissons, and Compiègne fell; the French Government fled to Tours, to Bordeaux, and finally to Vichy; the Germans broke through the Maginot Line south of Saarbrücken and the Vosges Mountains; Paris fell on June 14; Churchill proposed a union of France and England on June 16; the very same day the French Cabinet voted to sue for peace, with Pétain replacing Reynaud; on the evening of June 16 France asked for an armistice; Hitler and Mussolini conferred on June 18 at Munich; and on June 21 the French received the terms of the Armistice in the Compiègne dining car where Foch had presented the Allied terms to Germany in 1918. Only a few steps from the dining car was a tablet on a near-by monument stating: "Here on November 11, 1918, perished the criminal arrogance of the Imperial German Reich, defeated by the free peoples whom it sought to enslave."

The purposes of the German demands were to prevent the resumption of hostilities, to offer the Reich guarantees for the continuation of the war against Britain, and to create "preconditions for the formation of a new peace whose essential contents will be reparation of the wrong done to the German Reich by force." On June 22, France signed the armistice. Hostilities would cease six hours after the armistice with Italy. Since this was signed on June 24, France was

at peace on June 25. The terms of the German armistice defined the occupied area, called for the surrender of all arms, the demobilization of all French forces except for domestic order, and surrender of German military and civil prisoners. Furthermore, the French fleet was "to assemble in ports to be designated more particularly and under German or Italian control, to be demobilized and laid up, with the exception of those units released to the French Government for the protection of French interests in its colonial empire." Germany promised not to use the French fleet in war or to seize it at the conclusion of peace. The Italian armistice called for the delimitation of a fifty-kilometer zone behind the Italian lines on the European frontier, a similar zone in Tunisia, in Algeria bordering Libya, and the whole coast line of French Somaliland; full use for Italy of the Djibouti railroad to Addis Ababa; and the demilitarization of naval bases at Toulon, Bizerte, Ajaccio, and Oran.

Many reasons have been advanced for the fall of France. The disunity of the French Government is shown by the overt hostility between Daladier and Reynaud. In the final vote for an armistice the decision was 13 to 11, with Pétain in the affirmative and Reynaud in the negative. Many members of the upper classes in France, of whom Laval is representative, feared Communism far more than Fascism. French generals placed a false sense of security behind the Maginot Line. The Nazi propagandists had long waged an effective war of nerves in their "strategy of terror." When the Blitzkrieg came, the roads were crowded with fleeing citizens, impeding the movements of Allied troops. Finally, much credit is due to the German technique of warfare — massed dive bombers, parachute troops, panzer divisions of tanks, mechanized and motorized infantry, all backed by per-

fect industrial and military co-ordination from a powerful centralized government in Berlin.

Meanwhile Italy had entered the war on June 10, 1940. Italian interests in Tunisia, the Suez Canal, and the Straits had long been proclaimed. On November 30, 1938, Italian deputies had shouted for Tunisia, Corsica, Nice, and Savoy in the Chamber of Deputies before the French ambassador, André François-Poncet. Although the alliance with Germany had been signed on May 22, 1939, the course of Italo-German relations during the period of non-belligerency is still a mystery. Obviously many advantages came to both Rome and Berlin by the initial failure of Italy to enter the war. A dispute with England over the British seizure of 100,000 tons of German coal exports in thirteen Italian ships was peacefully settled. In April, Nazi victories in Scandinavia were hailed in Rome. By the end of the month England had diverted as much British shipping as possible from the Mediterranean. President Roosevelt tried to prevent the Duce from entering the war, while England and France made bribing efforts. Since an Allied defeat seemed near, the Duce was determined to enter the conflict.

The eyes of the world now turned to Britain. On June 18, 1940, Winston Churchill informed the Empire:

"What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon it depends our own British life and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned upon us. . . . Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty and so bear ourselves that if the British Commonwealth and Empire last for a thousand years, men will say 'This was their finest hour.'"

When the Battle of Britain began, the British had the largest navy in the world. It had defeated parts of the German navy in the North Sea, had driven the *Graf Spee* into self-destruction at Montevideo, had reduced much of the strength of the French fleet, especially at Oran, and had inflicted serious blows on the Italian navy at Taranto and in the east Mediterranean. On the other hand, the British had lost the aircraft carrier *Courageous*, on September 17, 1939, and the battleship *Royal Oak* on October 14, 1939. But the fleet had been strengthened by fifty United States destroyers in the base-destroyer deal and by the merchant marines of Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Until October, 1940, the losses to British shipping by enemy activity were apparently balanced by British purchase, capture, and construction. On July 29, Hitler launched his main air raids on Britain with all-out bombing on London beginning September 7. By November, 15,000 civilians had been killed and 20,000 wounded, mostly in the London area, but the Nazis had failed to break the British will to resist. It is quite likely that the failure of the Germans to invade Britain after the fall of France prevented a Nazi victory in the war.

While in the west the Battle of Britain was occupying the attention of the German sea and air forces, in the east the diplomatic and economic Drang nach Osten was in full swing. No clear definition can be given for the territorial extent of the Nazi Lebensraum or the German Drang nach Osten. These conceptions in Berlin have been very elastic, depending upon the general political, diplomatic, and military situation at the moment. The Lebensraum idea was centered at first in central Europe with the occupation of Praha as the opening wedge. The Drang nach Osten has always been a drive to the east, whether the goal be the city of Baghdad, as in the days of the Kaiser, or the city

of Kiev, as in the days of the Führer. Quite likely the Nazis in 1942 would have asserted that both Kiev and Baghdad were focal points in the Drang nach Osten. On December 15, 1938, French Ambassador Coulandre in Berlin reported to Paris: "To secure mastery over Central Europe by reducing Czechoslovakia and Hungary to a state of vassalage and then to create a Greater Ukraine under German control — this is what essentially appears to be the leading idea now accepted by the Nazi leaders, and doubtless by Hitler himself."

The Nazi Drang nach Osten is not a new concept, although the technique is more systematic and ruthless. In the days of Kaiser Wilhelm II the Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad personified the drive to the east. (Figure 10) This railroad, which began as an economic project of a group of capitalists, developed into an international issue among the powers of Europe, sharing a part of the responsibility for preparing the continent for the First World War. Georg von Siemens, head of the Deutsche Bank, had been anxious not to antagonize other powers, and he had envisioned co-operation with Britain. However, the mounting investments of German capital created a certain political interest in keeping the Ottoman Empire intact. Bismarck tolerated German enterprises in Turkey while Wilhelm II actively sponsored them. "Unser Baghdad" became very dear to the hearts of both Austrians and Germans. Although the issue among the Great Powers was settled shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, the Baghdad Railroad had become the leading link between the First Reich and the Ottoman Empire, resulting in the ultimate collapse of Turkey.

The Nazis have taken up the Drang nach Osten. In the German mind it is "as natural as the laws of gravity." Nazi economic penetration in the Balkans was the



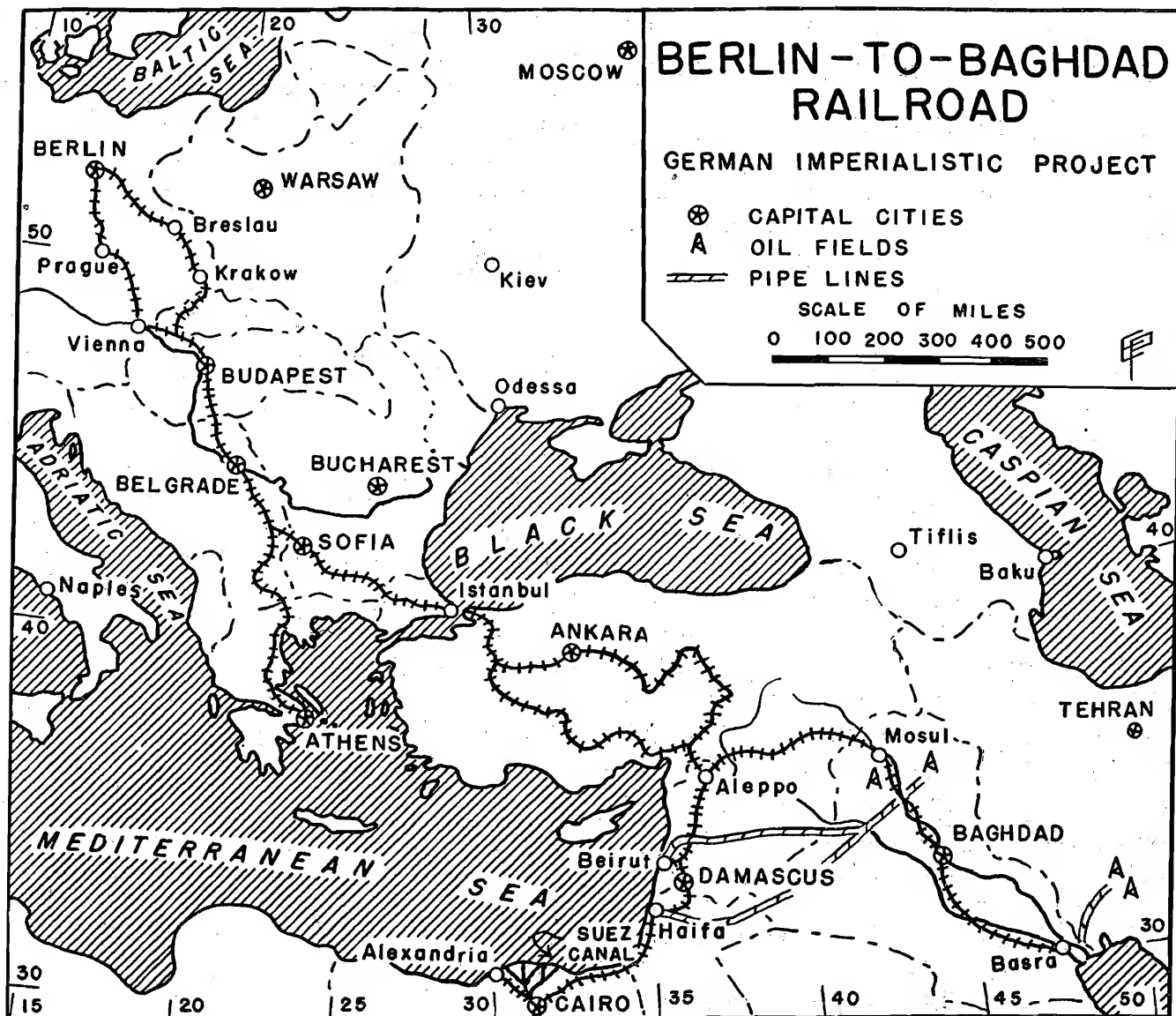


FIG. 10. BERLIN-TO-BAGHDAD RAILROAD · “Drang nach Osten” has been the German expression for this push toward the Near East

first step. The second step was the political policy of “divide and rule,” by taking advantage of the political and territorial disputes among the Balkan states. The final step was the actual acquisition of the states either by “peaceful” occupation, as in the case of Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, or by armed invasion, as in the case of Yugoslavia and Greece. By the middle of 1941 only Turkey remained outside the Nazi orbit. Major General Haushofer believes that Turkey is a strategic area that com-

mands Europe, Africa, and Asia. A blow at England in Turkey would be a blow at Iraq, Egypt, and India. The Turks, as non-belligerent allies of the British in 1943, realize the gravity of the situation.

The Balkans are an area about the size of Texas, with 60 million people, six religions, fifteen races and nationalities, and seven political states — Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, European Turkey, and Hungary. Since Hungary shares the fate of the Balkans, she is often included as a

Balkan state. Many obstacles stand in the way of a Balkan union — the political boundaries, the large minorities, economic nationalism, the political indoctrination of the young, and the role of power politics in the region. Industrial Germany has long considered this area as her Lebensraum. From an economic viewpoint the Balkans are agricultural, with the greater part of the population peasants. Only a few of the people are industrial workers, except in Hungary. The grain of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, the timber of the Carpathian and Balkan mountains, the hogs, cattle and sheep of Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, the limited amounts of copper, lead, zinc, antimony and nickel in Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia, the large deposits of bauxite in Hungary and Yugoslavia, the oil of Rumania — all these bring a greedy glint to the eye of every good Nazi. Germany, on the other hand, exports machinery, locomotives, motor vehicles, airplanes, electrical equipment, chemicals, and textiles to the Balkans. Consequently there exists a real economic interdependence between the Reich and southeastern Europe. However, southeastern Europe and Asia Minor do not possess almost everything that Germany needs, as Dr. Funk used to state.

Nazi trade with the Balkans increased so rapidly that practically a semi-colonial relationship existed in which the Balkans were dependent on Germany but the Reich was not dependent on them. In 1938, Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia acquired 12.3 per cent of their imports from southeastern Europe and sent 11.7 per cent of their exports to this area. On the other hand, the Balkans sent 46.6 per cent of their exports to those three countries, and received 45.9 per cent of their imports from them. Germany insisted on buying Balkan products not in money but in Nazi exports. The

barter system, with its clearing accounts, enabled the Germans to pay for Balkan goods with prices 30 to 60 per cent above the world market. The Reich became a chronic debtor in order to force the Balkans to take more German exports. Southeastern Europe was compelled to accept supplies that Germany could not sell elsewhere — cameras, aspirin, radios, razor blades, toilet articles, and mouth organs. The economic dependence of the Balkans on the Reich was even greater when the war came in September, 1939, when France collapsed, and Italy entered the struggle.

The Nazis were able to take advantage of two general factors in their political penetration in the Balkans: the existence of German minorities in many areas, and the conflicts of the Balkan states among themselves. Hungary was the early target of German activity, especially after Anschluss. Half a million Germans resided in the Kingless Kingdom, while the Magyars themselves had minorities in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia as a result of the First World War. Thanks to Nazi economic penetration, a splendid opportunity existed for the orientation of Hungary into the Nazi Lebensraum. Not only did Hungary adhere to the Three-Power Pact of September 27, 1940, but it adhered also to the anti-Comintern pact of November 25, 1936. At the Vienna Award Count Ciano and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, on August 30, 1940, took a part of Transylvania from Rumania and gave it to Hungary. In the earlier partitions of Czechoslovakia and in the later destruction of Yugoslavia, Hungary shared in the loot. In return for these benefits, the Magyars declared war on the Russians in June, 1941, and on the United States in December.

Rumania received the attention of the Nazis owing in no small degree to her oil fields. After the German occupation of

Praha, the kingdom had accepted a unilateral guarantee from Britain and France. A large German minority scattered in Rumania, the Hungarian and Bulgarian territorial demands in Dobrudja and Transylvania, the rise of a native Fascist movement in the kingdom, the economic invasion of the Reich, and the collapse of France aided in bringing Rumania into the Nazi camp. On June 21, 1940, King Carol made himself a totalitarian ruler. The partition of Rumania began with the Russian seizure of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina on June 26. On August 30 part of Transylvania went to the Hungarians, while on September 7 Bulgaria got the south Dobrudja to the 1912 frontier. On September 5 General Antonescu, friendly to the Fascist Iron Guard, became premier. King Carol quickly abdicated, leaving Michael as his successor. German troops entered to "protect" the oil wells, while Rumania adhered to the Three-Power Pact on November 23. England eventually declared war on the kingdom in December, 1941. The government of King Michael went to war with Russia in June, 1941, and with the United States in December.

Bulgaria had fought on the losing side in the Second Balkan War and the First World War. Indeed, the Bulgars usually pick the losers. Consequently the country had territorial claims against Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Nazi economic penetration was very strong, since 80 per cent of Bulgarian exports went to Germany even as far back as 1938. The kingdom was occupied by German troops on March 3, 1941, while King Boris had already adhered to the Three-Power pact. German troops in Bulgaria were located only 65 miles from Salonika and 48 miles from the Turkish fortifications in Thrace. As a result of Bulgaria's co-operation with the Axis, she received a rectification of her frontiers with

Yugoslavia after the collapse of that country in April, 1941, in addition to the return of the southern Dobrudja from Rumania on September 7, 1940.

Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria had been occupied by the Germans without bloodshed. However, Greece and Yugoslavia presented a different picture. The former had received a British guarantee on April 13, 1939. On October 28 the Italian Government sent an ultimatum to Greece, demanding the right to occupy certain strategic places. The note stated that "Wherever the Italian troops may meet resistance, this resistance will be broken by armed force. . . ." Since Greece rejected the ultimatum the Italian invasion began at 5:30 A.M. The "Hellenes" put up a courageous fight with the "Romans," driving them back into Albania.

Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, was one of the new states rising from the ruins of the First World War. Germans, Rumanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Magyars composed the hodge-podge of the minorities in Yugoslavia. The Croats demanded autonomy from the Serbs within the kingdom, while the Italians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians looked upon the country as potential booty. After Anschluss the foreign relations of Yugoslavia were dominated by Herr Hitler. On March 25, 1941, the Yugoslav regime under Regent Prince Paul and Premier Cvetkovitch adhered to the Three-Power Pact with the understanding that "the Axis power governments during this war will not demand of Yugoslavia to permit the march or transportation of troops through the Yugoslav State or territory." On March 27, the Yugoslav government was overturned; Peter II assumed royal power, with Dusan Simovitch as premier.

On April 6, 1941, Hitler invaded Yugoslavia and Greece. Prestige was the "deter-

mining factor" in the Nazi action. Von Ribbentrop asserted that "Nothing else was demanded of Yugoslavia but loyal co-operation with the Axis powers in the bringing about of the new European order. It was Germany's only aim to secure a position for Yugoslavia in this new European order, in accordance with Yugoslavia's best interests." In the note to Greece, the German Government said: "The Reich Government emphasizes that the German troops are not coming as enemies of the Greek people, and that the German people have no desire to fight and destroy the Greek people. The blow which Germany is compelled to strike on Greek soil is directed against England."

The Nazi Blitzkrieg in the Balkans drew to a swift and disastrous close for the Allies. On April 10, 1941, Ante Pavelitch was proclaimed head of a Croat state with the approval of Hitler. Hungarian troops invaded Yugoslavia on April 12, while Bulgarian troops followed three days later. German and Italian forces by April 19 had made organized resistance futile. Only guerrilla tactics remained, with the dread komitadji bands resuming the work of their ancestors in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, only this time against the Germans. The partition of Yugoslavia among the victors promptly ensued. On April 23, the Greek army, in Epirus and Macedonia, surrendered as the capital was transferred to Crete. On April 27, German troops entered Athens, while General Tsolakoglou headed a puppet government within a few days. With the capture of Crete, finished on June 2, the Greek Government was removed to Cairo, Egypt:

On May 4, Hitler, again in a triumphant mood, addressed the Reichstag, summing up the Nazi viewpoint toward the Balkans:

"As in the past, the Reich never pursued any territorial or any other selfish political

interests in the Balkans. . . . On the other hand, the Reich has endeavored to build up and to strengthen close economic ties with those States in particular. If any two economic systems ever effectively complemented one another, that is especially the case regarding the Balkan States and Germany. Germany is an industrial country and requires foodstuffs and raw materials. The Balkan States are agrarian countries and are short of these raw materials. At the same time, they require industrial products."

The formal Nazi conquest of the Balkans was ended. A few crumbs were handed to Rome, Budapest, and Sofia, but the swastika, for all practical purposes, waved over Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria as it did over Yugoslavia and Greece. The formula was simple: economic penetration, political intrigue, and military occupation by "peace" or by war. The republics of South America are fortunate in the several thousand miles of ocean that separate them from the Reich.

On June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. The Nazis of Hitler's Reich were engaged in a mighty conflict with the communists of Stalin's Russia. Up to the invasion of Russia the foreign policy of Adolf Hitler was generally directed along the lines advocated by the Munich school of geopoliticians. Haushofer, in 1938 during the Czechoslovakian crisis, said that France could not and would not march if Germany invaded Czechoslovakia. He advised a "bore" war with France, conquering the republic from within. He remarked that the conquest of Norway would prove no obstacle to the Germans. Haushofer had long favored an alliance with Japan. However, the Major General probably viewed the invasion of Russia with considerable question. He had favored the economic penetration of the Soviet Union by Germany

rather than a military invasion. The example of Napoleon in Russia was always in the mind of the Master. On the other hand, in an editorial in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* in September, 1941, he hailed the Nazi invasion, indicating that he may have agreed that the German step was desirable at that time or that he was simply trying to favor the Führer. The world now knows that the Nazi invasion of Russia was one of Adolf Hitler's greatest errors.

The terminology of Hitler's "New Order" in Europe is borrowed from the Japanese "New Order" in East Asia. However, the idea is essentially German. By June, 1940, the struggle against the "diktat" of Versailles, the uniting of all Germans under one flag, the need for Lebensraum, and even the Drang nach Osten were no longer sufficient as slogans for the victorious Nazis. The fall of France led to the launching of the New Order in Europe. The economic angle of this was the German conception of Grossraumwirtschaft or continental economy. The "New Order" has never been officially defined by the Nazis, who talk in generalities, such as "accepting the realities" of Europe, attaining the "Golden Age," and "collaborating" for mutual prosperity. Only a general picture can be presented by Hitler's speeches, especially toward the end of 1940, and by the remarks of his colleagues in the New Order, Dr. Goebbels, Dr. Ley, Hans Frank, and Arthur Greiser. In his New Year's Message of 1940, Hitler talked about the construction of a New Europe being in the hands of a young and productive people. On another occasion the Chancellor had declared: "It is a war of two opposing worlds. . . . I grant that one of the two must succumb." Hitler realized his power in Europe when he asserted on November 8, 1940: "We are in a position today to mobilize the power of almost all Europe — and that I shall do so industrially

you may well believe." The Axis powers in Europe and Asia publicly proclaimed their similarity in verbal terminology in the famous Three-Power Pact of September 27, 1940:

"Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe. Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia."

Many Nazis have expressed their views on the organization of the continent under the New Order. Joseph Harsch, recent correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Berlin, has seen several of these maps. Europe is organized with an enlarged Reich as a central core, surrounded by German colonies in Europe, Africa, and the Near East, along with vassal states. In the Greater Reich are Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, western Poland, Gibraltar, and Suez. The German colonies in Europe extend from the Danube to the Black Sea and from the Baltic area to Leningrad. The Drang nach Osten is completed by the colonial status of the Ukraine and the Near East. All Africa, with the exception of the Italian and Spanish colonial empires and the French areas along the Mediterranean, is a German colony. The vassal states possess different ranks: Scandinavia may be organized as a separate vassal state on account of the Nordic population; an enlarged Finland is organized as a buffer state against Russia. Italy and Spain retain a semi-independent status, although Gibraltar and Suez are Nazi. French-speaking Belgium and Switzerland are united to France for administrative simplicity. The ultimate role of France, Portugal, Turkey, and Britain will await the circumstances of the future. Russia has a new border running just west of the rail-

road from Leningrad to Moscow and thence southeast to the Caspian Sea. White Russia and the Ukraine are set up as puppet states, while the rest of Russia resembles France under German domination. Such a treaty with Russia would make Brest-Litovsk appear mild. In that treaty Russia lost only 34 per cent of her population, 32 per cent of her agricultural land, 85 per cent of her beet-sugar land, 54 per cent of her industrial undertakings, and 89 per cent of her coal mines.

Hermann Rauschning reports that Hitler said in a conversation as far back as 1934:

"We need space to make us independent of every possible political grouping and alliance. In the east, we must have the mastery as far as the Caucasus and Iran. In the west, we need the French coast. We need Flanders and Holland. Also we need Sweden. We must become a colonial power. We must have a sea power equal to that of Britain....

"In the center I shall place the steely core of a Greater Germany welded into an indissoluble unity. Then Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, western Poland, a block of one hundred million, indestructible, without a flaw, without an alien element, the firm foundation of our power. Then an Eastern Alliance: Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary, the Balkan States, the Ukraine, the Volga Basin, Georgia. An alliance, but not of equal partners, it will be an alliance of vassal states, with no army, no separate policy, no separate economy. . . . I shall have a Western Union too, of Holland, Flanders, Northern France, and a Northern Union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway."<sup>4</sup>

Alfred Rosenberg has also indicated his views on the future Europe. The plan in-

<sup>4</sup>Hermann Rauschning, *Voice of Destruction* (New York, 1940), pp. 122, 124.

cludes a combination of all the German peoples under one leader — the end of Austria, the liquidation of Switzerland, the disintegration of Czechoslovakia, the seizure of the German provinces of Poland, the end of Belgium, the inclusion of Holland in the racial empire, the control of Scandinavia, the annexation of the Balticum, and the eventual conquest of Russia. The New Europe includes a central German section around Berlin, a south German section in the area of the old Hapsburg empire, a northern federation of Scandinavia, a dominion of the Greater Ukraine, a Balkan protectorate, and a Baltic dominion. After the German successes of 1940 Alfred Rosenberg was able to assert: "The National Socialist Revolution . . . has become a law for the European Continent in its political effects."

American correspondents in Germany from 1938 to 1941 noticed the gradual expansion of Nazi demands in the press of the Reich. In February, 1938, the Nazis were proclaiming a German Monroe Doctrine in Central Europe, especially Austria. With Anschluss, Nazi propagandists increased the scope of their demands to include the control of Central Europe, the economic domination of southeastern Europe, the return of the German colonies, and the rule of the Ukraine. By September the Drang nach Osten with Kiev instead of Baghdad as the goal was in full swing. The first partition of Czechoslovakia opened Bohemia to the control of the Nazis. Experts recalled the statement of Bismarck "Whoever is master of Bohemia is master of Europe." By the early summer of 1939 the Nazi propagandists had proclaimed a Monroe Doctrine for the area extending from the North Sea to the Black, with the gradual extension of the idea to Poland, the Baltic, and Scandinavia. Toward the middle of the summer, Nazi spokesmen were demanding a Lebensraum of 200 to 250 million



people, extending from the Rhine River and the North Sea to the Soviet Union and the Black Sea, with the possible inclusion of the Ukraine and Turkey. By February, 1940, the Nazis were discussing the "Adolf Hitler Age" with a "socialism of the nations" based on the natural complementary possibilities of Europe under the Führer. The organization of not only Europe but also Africa would clearly be under German domination if the Nazis won. In July the Germans were basing their New Order on a powerful, "united" continent against the British. By the fall of 1940 they were publicly organizing the world in four great regions — Europe and Africa, the U.S.S.R., America, and Greater East Asia. However, no clear delimitation of the four spheres was evident even between the Nazis and Fascists. This expansion of Nazi aims in their press, from 1938 to 1941, indicates the close relationship between the propagandists and the militarists of Berlin.

Germany ruled Europe at the height of Nazi power in 1942 through four different political methods: first, direct annexations to the Reich, as in the case of Austria, Sudetenland, Western Poland, Luxembourg, Alsace, Lorraine, Malmédy and Eupen, or incorporation, as in the case of Bohemia, Moravia, Central Poland, and the Baltic area; second, an undefined condition of military occupation, as in the case of the Netherlands, Norway, Serbia, Greece, most of prewar Belgium, Denmark, occupied France, and conquered parts of Russia; third, a status of nominal independence, with the Reich exercising a "friendly" force, as in the case of Italy, Vichy France, Spain, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Croatia, and Finland; and fourth, spheres of influence, as in the case of Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal.

The areas of Europe under German domination were governed in different ways,

depending upon their blood relationship to the Nazis and upon their degree of opposition or collaboration with the New Order. Reich commissioners were sent to Norway and to the Netherlands, military commanders to Belgium and occupied France, protectors to Bohemia and Moravia, and a governor-general to Poland. Only in the case of Poland was the rule direct, where the German governor issued direct orders to the people. Indirect rule possessed the advantage of utilizing Quislings under the old Roman principle of "divide et impera." The Nazis thought in terms of four main categories when they dealt with their subject peoples — the Germans, the people of northern and western Europe, the inhabitants of the Mediterranean Basin, and the Slavs. The Nordics of Scandinavia are better treated than the Slavs of the east because of the similarity of German and Norse blood. The Slavs, perhaps owing to the rapid increase of their population, have always been condemned to a lower social scale by the Germans. By the Nazis the Jews are considered hardly fit enough to bear arms for the Reich. The Nazis call themselves Herrenvolk, while the non-Germanic peoples are Hilfenvolk. The New Order is a caste system based upon blood. As a result, Europe is composed of a hierarchy of vassal peoples ruled from Berlin.

The disintegration of Czechoslovakia illustrates the German policy of atomization. Croats have been set against Czechs, while the Hungarians have seized the Ruthenians of the republic. Slovakia is an "independent" state under Father Tiso, collaborating with Herr Hitler in the war against the Russians. In the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia the customs border with Germany has been ended. Nazi courts and native courts exist side by side, although a German official can revoke a sentence of a Czech judge, even in purely Czech affairs.

All Czech universities and a majority of the high schools have also been closed. Owing to the rise of terrorism, Baron von Neurath, the protector, was replaced in the fall of 1941 by Reinhard Heydrich, a Gestapo terrorist. The protectorate was placed under a "state of emergency," while premier Alois Elias was convicted of "preparing treason."

Poland has been the most brutally treated area in the New Europe. At first the Nazis planned to send Jews and Poles to the Gouvernement Général of Poland, the area between Russian Poland and German Pomorze. Germans from the Baltic states began to seize the lands of the Poles in the German-annexed areas. By the end of 1940 over 1,500,000 Poles had moved out as 500,000 German settlers had moved in. The Pan Germanism of the Kaiser differs from the Pan Germanism of the Führer, since the former believed that non-Germans could be made German by coercion, while the latter believes that heredity is the basis of the German. All Poles between the ages of 14 and 60 are subject to forced labor in Poland or Germany. Both universities and high schools have been closed in Poland. Since the fatal day of September 1, 1939, more than 3,000,000 Poles have died in concentration camps, in Siberian exile, or under Nazi jurisdiction, while 2,000,000 died, were taken prisoners, or fled across the mountains during the invasion. The situation in Poland is revealed by Cardinal Hlond, in an interview in Rome on January 29, 1940: "Hitler is carrying out what he said about Poland in *Mein Kampf* literally. It is a deliberate policy of extermination; an effort to rout the 7,000,000 people out of their soil in Western Poland and to supplant them by Germans. Hitler wrote that the Poles cannot be Germanized; they must be wiped out in those regions, and that is what he is doing."

In Scandinavia the "New Order" has

assumed diverse forms. In Denmark, King Christian X formerly ruled with a cabinet headed by a premier. The German official here was a commissioner who exercised indirect control. The Nazis pointed to Denmark as an ideal example of life in the German Lebensraum. However, the recent revolt of the Danes has changed this conception. In Norway, Josef Terboven, the German commissioner, rules; King Haakon has fled to England. The only political party that is allowed is the National Union, of which Vidkun Quisling is the leader. He has the support of not more than five per cent of the population. The Norwegian Parliament has been abolished, an Administrative Council of Norwegians has been sent home, the land is governed by thirteen cabinet ministers appointed by Terboven from the Quisling party, each with great power in his own department. The workers have been prohibited from moving from one place to another, while their jobs are assigned and their wages fixed by the German authorities. The exact political status of Norway in the New Order is not certain, but the land would be occupied by Nazi troops indefinitely. Censorship, rationing, the Gestapo — all these are principles of the New Order in Norway.

Sweden seems determined to resist Nazi political encroachments. In the struggle between the Germans and the Norwegians the Swedes favor the latter, but in the war between the Russians and the Germans the Swedes favor the Germans. King Gustav, Premier Hanson, and Foreign Minister Gunther have sought to preserve Swedish independence and neutrality by cooperating to a limited degree with the Nazis. Formerly, the Swedes allowed German troops to cross the country to and from Norway. Almost all the Swedish output of iron ore, timber, wood pulp, and foodstuffs goes to the Reich or German-occupied areas. There

can be little question that Sweden from an economic viewpoint forms an integral part of the German living space.

In the Netherlands Herr Seyss-Inquart is the Reich commissioner, while Queen Wilhelmina is an exile in London. The commissioner is assisted by an advisory staff of German specialists. A Dutch administrative committee of the general secretaries of the departments of state participates in the government. German reprisals were taken in the Netherlands for "unworthy treatment" of Nazi war prisoners in the Netherlands Indies. The Burgomaster of The Hague and the military governor of Amsterdam have been dismissed because of anti-Fascist demonstrations in their jurisdictions. German economic penetration has been more systematic in the Netherlands than in any other conquered area in Europe.

Belgium has no native administration. The Germans have tried to get King Leopold to rule as a puppet, but he has refused. Consequently, a military commander rules in the country. The legal Belgian government is established in London, controlling the Congo. Since Belgium is industrially overpopulated, unemployment has been great owing to the lack of raw materials to operate more than a third of the factories of normal times. Brussels University is under the joint administration of Dr. Grab of Belgium and a German military officer. The Quislings of the country, the Flemish schoolmaster Staf De Clereq and the Walloon Léon Degrelle, have not been given political power by the Nazis.

France occupied a special position in the New Order because of her colonial empire, her potential bases, and her fleet. France was divided into occupied and unoccupied areas. The former was ruled from Berlin while the latter was controlled by Marshal Pétain. The Marshal received advice from the Franco-German armistice commission

or from Otto Abetz, German envoy in Paris. On July 10, 1940, the National Assembly gave Pétain the power to draw up a new constitution with the proviso for a plebiscite. A few days later the Marshal proclaimed the "Constitutional Acts" of the state, beginning with the phrase, "We, Philippe Pétain, Marshal of France. . ." By these acts Pétain assumed a position of practical dictatorship in France. The Marshal substituted the theme of "labor, family, and fatherland" for "liberty, equality, and fraternity." In the economic sphere the Marshal's program moved toward a corporative system with the abolition of labor federations and employers associations, each industry having a standard organization under a ministry. Relations with England were severed after the British attack on the French fleet; French Indo-China for all practical purposes was handed over to the Japanese; Syria was acquired by the Free French and the British only after a bitter campaign. A Supreme Court of Justice was created to try various former officials connected with the outbreak and conduct of the war — Daladier, Mandel, Gamelin, Reynaud, and Blum. The German hold on Vichy consists of 2,500,000 French war prisoners in the Reich, of many French civilians living in the occupied zone, and of the general disarmament of France. Following the Allied invasion of North Africa, the Nazis moved into occupied France, while the French eventually scuttled their fleet at Toulon.

In Yugoslavia the Nazis have adopted their usual attitude toward the Slavs as a race. Furthermore, the policy of atomization is revealed by the promotion of hostility between the Croats and the Serbs. In the partition of the kingdom, Germany acquired a half of Slovenia, Serbia was placed under a German military governor in Belgrade, and Nazi troops were garrisoned in free Croatia,

Bosnia, and Herzegovina. Hungarian forces occupied sections, while Bulgar troops seized Yugoslav Macedonia. Croatia was set up under Ante Pavelitch, whose organization had planned the assassination of King Alexander. The Duke of Spoleto was designated as king, while Italy guaranteed Croatia independence. Obediently Croatia declared war on Russia and the United States in 1941. Matchek, the Croat leader, refused to co-operate in the new state. In addition to Croatia, Italy acquired the southern half of Slovenia, Dalmatia, and most of the Adriatic islands. Montenegro was occupied up to the Albanian frontier. A "National Assembly" declared the independence of the country along the lines of Albania. Hitler's invasion of Russia had great repercussions in Yugoslavia. The Chetniks and the Partisans have formed guerrilla bands that have harried the forces of occupation, and even each other. Both the Italians and the Germans have faced difficult problems in keeping order in the chaotic country of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

In Greece the people have not accepted German domination willingly. Fighting has broken out with the Bulgarians who occupy Macedonia. Large sections of Greece were turned over to the occupation forces of the Italians. The food situation in the kingdom was very serious. Another Quisling appeared in M. Tsolakoglov, while Mayor Plitas of Athens saw Franklin Roosevelt Boulevard renamed Adolf Hitler Boulevard. The Nazis have returned the Greek war prisoners in recognition of Greek bravery in the war.

In the Russian regions conquered by Germany, reconstruction has been slow because of the "scorched earth policy" of the Soviets. The residential districts of the cities remained, but the industrial sections were destroyed. A barter system of trade prevailed, with German coinage reluctantly

accepted by the Russians. The Nazis have failed to find a puppet to set up in the conquered areas of Russia, while the people behind their Red Armies have remained loyal to Stalin. On January 1, 1942, the Germans held the Ukraine and the Donetz Basin, with 60 per cent of the coal of Russia, 48 per cent of the steel, 61 per cent of the pig iron and 72 per cent of the aluminum.

Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey were the five "neutrals" in 1943 on the European continent. However, the first four were under the German sphere of influence in 1942. Switzerland, with its large German, French, and Italian nationalities, is surrounded by belligerents, with the exception of Vichy France. The Swiss army now numbers 300,000, supported by the geographic protection of the Alps. The loss of markets abroad has been a serious blow to Swiss economy. Trade is confined largely to the Axis-dominated areas. There can be little doubt that Switzerland is in the Nazi sphere of influence from an economic point of view. With the entrance of the United States into the war, the Swiss took over the interests of Washington in the Axis capitals. The choice of Switzerland instead of Sweden, Portugal, Spain, or Turkey may be indicative of a greater degree of political independence in Berne in 1941.

Because of her geographical position Portugal was also under the Nazi sphere of influence. The pro-Axis regime in Madrid was an important factor in the precarious situation of Lisbon. On the other hand, the Portuguese have been allies of the British since 1372. The German army at the Pyrenees and the British navy in the Atlantic put Portugal on the fence for the first four years of the war. On October 12, 1943, Portugal leased naval and air bases in the Azores to the British for the duration. Prior to July 18, 1936, the date of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the chief interest of

Portugal lay in the preservation of her colonial empire. After that date the independence of Portugal in Europe became the motivating factor in Lisbon. By late 1943 the Portuguese were convinced that Hitler would lose the war.

General Franco of Spain owes his power to the support given him during the Spanish Civil War by Hitler and Mussolini. Germany was interested in weakening France from the rear, and in the iron, copper, sulphur, and mercury of Spain. Italy looked with interest at the Spanish possession of the Balearics and the northern tip of Morocco. After the civil war, Spain was in economic and political chaos, with about five per cent of her population killed in the struggle. When the invasion of Poland occurred, Franco proclaimed the neutrality of his country, but the entrance of Italy into the conflict led to "non-belligerency." On June 14, the Spanish occupied Tangier. The press began to demand Gibraltar, Andorra, and French Morocco. Franco has sent a "Blue Legion" to Russia and has proclaimed his "non-belligerency" in the Pacific war. Although Spain has affirmed her loyalty to Hitler in the anti-comintern pact, she has refrained from adhering to the Three-Power Pact. Franco has not entered the war because of the economic chaos in Spain, the lack of food and oil, which he gets by the grace of the British navy, the political disunity of the country, and the fear that England might use Spain as a base to invade the continent.

Turkey and Portugal are the only two countries in Europe where the Axis and the Allies compete for markets and supplies. The Near East peoples, including the Arabs, generally support the Allies, although they are torn between the desire for self-government and the fear of losing what they already possess. On October 19, 1939, Turkey

signed a treaty with France and England, providing for mutual assistance in the event of an act of aggression by a European power leading to war in the Mediterranean. Turkish aid to the Allies would be available if Italy entered the war, provided the Allied guarantees to Greece and Rumania remained in effect, and provided that Turkey, by giving aid, would not be involved in conflict with Russia. Since the Italian declaration of war coincided with the collapse of France and the Rumanian repudiation of the British guarantee, Turkey remained neutral. By successive steps Turkey retreated from the Balkans — giving only aid short of war to Greece after the Italian attack, signing a non-aggression pact with Bulgaria, leaving Yugoslavia and Greece to their fate during the Nazi Blitzkrieg, and signing a non-aggression pact with Germany shortly before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. On her Asiatic frontiers, Turkey took no action in the Iraq revolt, in the fighting in Syria, or in the Anglo-Russian occupation of Iran beyond verbal comments. The non-aggression pact with Germany and the alliance with England are still valid, indicating that Turkey is walking the fence in 1943 while the ravages of war pass all around her. Roosevelt and Churchill held conferences in Cairo early in December, 1943, with President Inonu, of Turkey, and it now seems certain that Turkey will eventually furnish aid to the United Nations.

The Nazi blueprint of a New Order in Europe — political, economic and cultural — has been slowly emerging from Berlin. The idea is clothed in the garments of a Twentieth-Century Pollyanna, but the expression "New Order" has become a curse word used by the subjected peoples. The Munich school of geopolitics has seen many of its domestic and foreign policies carried into effect in the Third Reich.

## Chapter Five · Geopolitical Strength of the United States

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At the time of the next armistice the United States will be the strongest power on earth. American influence will be tremendous, especially in Latin America, the Pacific, and the North Atlantic. The United States will be the only great power whose mainland has not suffered from enemy invasion or aerial bombardment. The American navy will be the largest and strongest in the history of the world. United States warships will police the Pacific and the western Atlantic, while British warships will control the Indian Ocean and the eastern Atlantic. The United States will be the leading air power on earth, although adequate air bases will be lacking if the status quo ante bellum is instituted. The republic which has traditionally opposed a large standing army may quite likely impose military service upon all young men at the age of eighteen. Whether or not the United States will be able to maintain its important position will depend upon the inherent strength of the nation and its diplomacy among the world powers.

From a broad viewpoint the territorial expansion of the United States from 1783 to 1853 may be interpreted as an interplay of geopolitical forces. The struggle for the boundary of the new country at the Mississippi River and not the Allegheny Mountains was resolved in favor of the Mississippi. The French and Spanish were eager to confine the new republic to the old colonial area between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies. The Louisiana Purchase doubled the area of the country, extending the boundaries from the Mississippi to the Rockies

and from Canada to a foothold on the Gulf of Mexico. The mouth of the Mississippi River was freed from European domination. Thirteen states were cut wholly, or in part, from the Louisiana Purchase, each one a political laboratory in state government; the population grew from 50,000 in 1804 to over 22,000,000 in 1940; the lead and zinc of Missouri and Arkansas, the cattle and timber of Montana, the wheat of Kansas and the Dakotas, the corn of Iowa and Minnesota, the bauxite of Arkansas, the sugar and cotton of Louisiana, the petroleum of Oklahoma, all have been a source of wealth for the republic.

A larger foothold on the Gulf of Mexico was gained with the acquisition of Florida in 1819. The Gulf of Mexico was the "natural boundary" of the United States on the south, with the rivers flowing into it an outlet for the cotton of Georgia and the future states of Mississippi and Alabama. The Spanish strip of the Gulf Coast had been used by the British in the War of 1812 as a base of operations against American commerce. The annexation of Texas in 1845 increased the area of the republic by 267,000 square miles. By 1830 there were 20,000 Americans in the Mexican possession of Texas, while Spain in a hundred years had furnished less than 3000 white colonists. From a geopolitical viewpoint Spain, and later Mexico, had the ownership of the space but by no means the mastery of it. Shortly after 1830 Alexis de Tocqueville, a distinguished French visitor to the United States, wrote: "In the course of the last few years, the Anglo-Americans have pene-



trated into this province [Texas], which is still thinly peopled. . . . It may be easily foreseen that if Mexico takes no step to check this change, the province of Texas will soon cease to belong to her." In February, 1845 Congress by a joint resolution voted the Lone Star Republic into the Union.

In 1846 the Oregon boundary question was finally settled between London and Washington. The latitude "fifty-four forty or fight" became the latitude "forty-nine" from the Rockies to the Pacific between the British and the American possessions. The presence of one thousand staunch settlers in Oregon in 1843 was the strongest claim of the United States to the territory. In 1848 Mexico, in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ending the Mexican War, turned over Upper California and New Mexico to the United States and recognized the American title to Texas. The United States had reached its logical frontier on the Pacific Ocean. In reality California was practically a possession of the United States before the Mexican War, inasmuch as several hundred Americans in the year 1844-1845 alone had crossed the continent to California, branching off from the Oregon Trail near Fort Hall in southern Idaho. The American consul at Monterey had been instructed by his government to arouse "that love of liberty and independence so natural to the American continent" in the bosoms of the Californians.

The southern boundary of the United States is one of conquest. Only in the second quarter of the Twentieth Century did a diplomatic revolution occur when the United States and Mexico became allies in war for the first time in history. The final step in the territorial expansion of the United States on the mainland was the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 from Mexico. This consisted of 36,211 square miles south of the Gila River and was a possible route for a railroad

across the southern Rockies to the Pacific. From an original area of 868,000 square miles the United States had expanded to 3,022,387 square miles. The foundation for national power had been laid in space.

Certain leaders of American history have possessed extraordinary geopolitical insight. They may be called applied geopoliticians. Thomas Jefferson, by his purchase of Louisiana, falls in this class. However, he was by no means certain that the United States could master the Louisiana space. In 1804 he wrote: "Whether we remain one confederacy or fall into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies I believe not very important to the happiness of either part." But above the capitol of Maine in Augusta, overlooking the Kennebec, and above the capitol of Missouri, in Jefferson City, overlooking the Missouri waves one common flag with thirteen stripes and forty-eight stars.

James Monroe, through his famous Monroe Doctrine, is considered by the Munich school to be a great geopolitician. In reality President Monroe, at the suggestion of John Quincy Adams, attempted to prevent the partition of the New World by the powers of the Old. The Nazis and the Japanese have claimed that their New Orders are the Monroe Doctrine applied to Europe and Greater East Asia respectively. However, the history of the 1930's and 1940's in America, Asia, and Europe proves the mendacity of the Axis propagandists. President Monroe in his famous written message to Congress on December 2, 1823 stated that the continents of the Western Hemisphere were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers;" that the United States would consider "any attempt on their part to extend their system [Holy Alliance] to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous" to the peace and safety of the United States; and that the United States on its part was

determined neither to meddle with European systems of government nor to disturb the existing possessions of European powers in the New World.

In the air age of the future William Seward's recommendation for the acquisition of Alaska, Greenland, and Iceland assumes geopolitical significance. The real importance of Alaska is for the first time being realized in the present conflict. General "Billy" Mitchell even went so far as to assert that Alaska "is the most important strategic place in the world."

Admiral Alfred T. Mahan and President Theodore Roosevelt rank among the leading geopoliticians of the United States. Many of the ideas of Admiral Mahan were carried out by Theodore Roosevelt when he entered the White House. Alfred Mahan is the most quoted authority on sea power by the geopoliticians. He was a lecturer on naval history at the United States Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island. In his books, especially "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783," published in 1890, he expressed the principles of sea power that had long been used by the British Admiralty. In brief, Mahan taught that national prosperity and national destiny were based on a program of mercantilistic imperialism. A merchant marine under the Stars and Stripes was necessary for commerce and also as a bulwark of sea power. Furthermore, merchant ships should have secure ports at their destination and protection along the route. This security involved an overseas empire and a powerful navy. Mahan's ideas on naval strategy and national defense became well known throughout the United States and the world. It is not sufficient to stop the enemy at the coast line of the United States. A fleet of capital ships is needed to prevent a blockade and to keep American ports open to foreign neutral shipping in wartime. By a fleet Admiral

Mahan did not mean cruisers, because they could not prevent a blockade; what he meant was battleships. His capital-fleet theory involved the command of the seas for a wide area contiguous to the continental coast line of the United States.

World events supported Mahan's advocacy of a fleet of capital ships in the world ocean. Chile had emerged from the War of the Pacific with a strong fleet, while a typhoon at Apia, Samoa, in 1889 had destroyed most of the American and German vessels. In 1890 Congress authorized the construction of three battleships (of slightly more than 10,000 tons), one of which was the famous *Oregon*. Throughout the 1890's Mahan continued not only his plea for a capital fleet but also for the expansion of the United States overseas. Hawaii might one day become a vital strategic "outpost" against a "wave of barbaric invasion" from the Far East. The need of a canal across the isthmus between North and South America was stressed. In order to guard the security of such a canal the United States must have naval superiority in the Caribbean and eastern Pacific. The War with Spain verified many of Mahan's contentions. The need of a canal was indicated by the length of time required to transfer the *Oregon* from San Francisco to Key West, — sixty-eight days over 13,000 nautical miles via the Strait of Magellan. Meanwhile the Atlantic seaboard was perturbed over the whereabouts of the Spanish fleet. The gold reserve of Boston was moved to Worcester!

The war showed the need for United States bases in various areas of the world. Admiral Dewey was stationed at Hong Kong when the conflict broke out. Since Britain was neutral, the Asiatic squadron had to leave the Crown Colony. Theodore Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had seen Dewey placed in command of the Asiatic fleet and had had the ships put on a

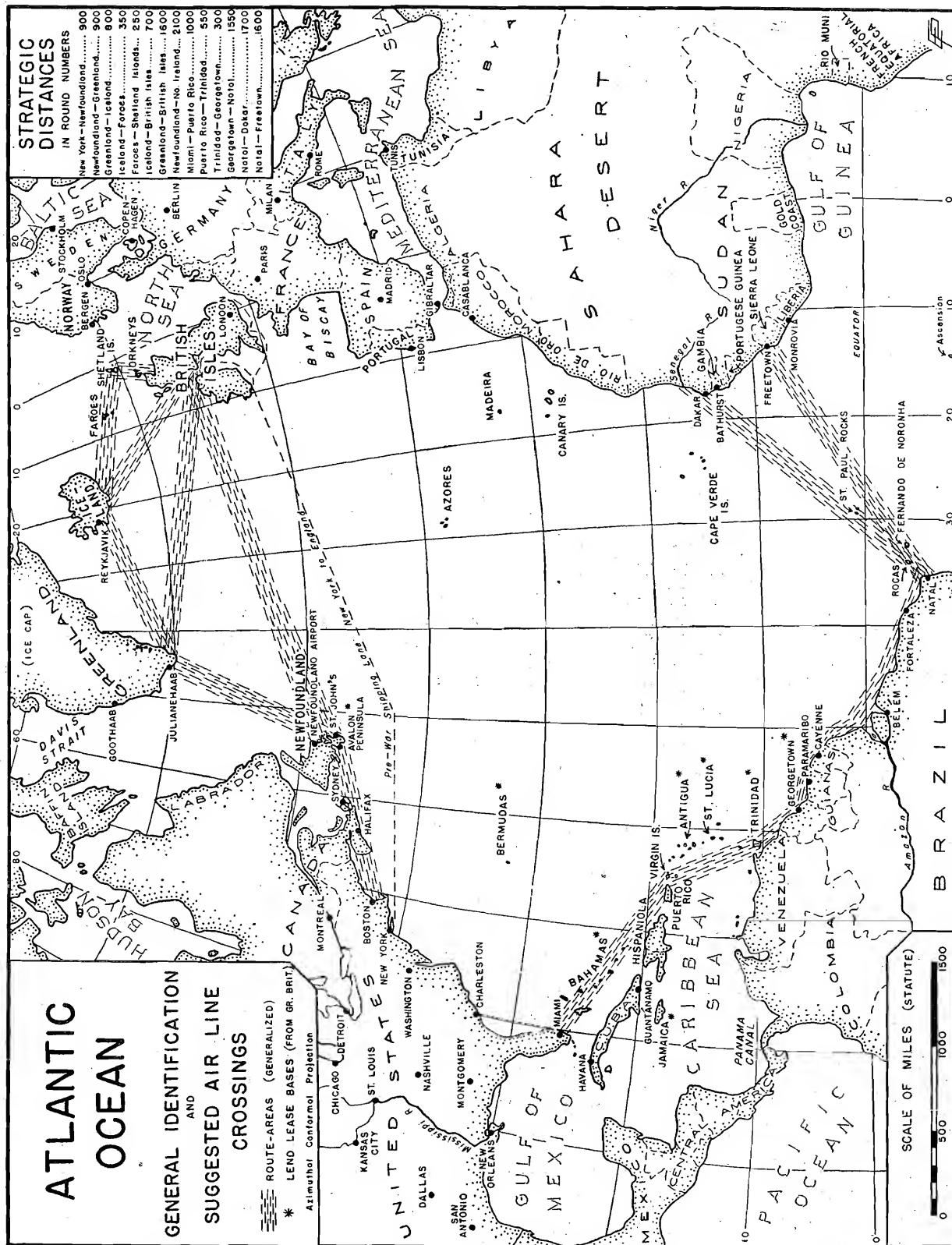


FIG. 11 · ATLANTIC OCEAN · The shorter the water hop the more practical the air route

war basis ready to strike in the Philippines when war with Spain broke out. On April 27, 1898, Dewey's fleet left Hong Kong, and on May 1 it destroyed the feeble Spanish force anchored in Manila Bay. This war also proved that guns afloat are not comparable to guns on shore, while the death knell of harbor defense boats such as the Monitor type was sounded. The Spanish-American War saw Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico placed in United States hands, while Cuba became a protectorate and Hawaii was separately annexed by joint resolution of Congress. During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt several more of Mahan's ideas became realities—the Panama Canal Zone, ten miles in width, across the isthmus was acquired in 1903 and the Canal was actually opened in 1914; the big-navy policy of Mahan was carried out through Roosevelt's sympathy; the fleet was sent around the world from 1907–1909 as a symbol of the new power of the United States. Inasmuch as Tokyo had recently been quarreling with Washington over the decision of the San Francisco Board of Education to have Japanese, Chinese, and Korean students attend separate schools, Theodore Roosevelt may have sent the fleet around the world as a warning to Japan. At any rate the officers and men were well received even at Yokohama and Tokyo.

The strength of the United States rests upon the geopolitical factors that are reflected in the military and diplomatic power of the republic. The United States possesses the best location of any of the world powers. Continental United States is separated from Europe by 3000 miles of Atlantic Ocean and from Asia by from 5000 to 8000 miles of a not too Pacific Ocean. (*Figures 11, 12.*) The Dominion of Canada to the north and the Republic of Mexico to the south are friendly but weak states, relatively speaking. With reference to continental United States, a

two-front war under present conditions must be an oceanic contest, just the opposite from a two-front war on land involving Russia. The development of communications on land, on sea, and in the air is nullifying the geographical isolation of the United States. There is not a point on the globe at present that is more than sixty hours of flying distance from its farthest point. The aspect of the Arctic Ocean as a future aerial Mediterranean may destroy the military value of American isolation. Furthermore, the Panama Canal, which is highly vulnerable, is essential to the security of the United States as long as the two-ocean navy is still in the construction stage. (*Figure 13.*) The loss of the British navy in the summer of 1940, guarding the Atlantic approaches to the United States, would have been a catastrophe to the republic. Even though we have a two-ocean navy by 1946, the distances saved by the use of the Panama Canal will still be a factor of importance. The role of the United States as a Pacific power depends to a great extent upon the canal across the isthmus, mainly because the industrial heart of the United States is separated from the Pacific coast by the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, and the transcontinental railroads of the United States cannot carry so much bulky material as can the ships via the Panama Canal.

The position of the United States with reference to Caribbean America is also of great importance, not only in terms of defense, with the Panama Canal as the vital artery between the Atlantic and the Pacific, but also in terms of trade. The exchange of the raw materials of the tropics for the manufactured goods of the United States is by no means insignificant. Indeed, the influence of the United States is paramount in Mexico, Central America, Northern South America, and the West Indies. This influence was well revealed by the solidarity of

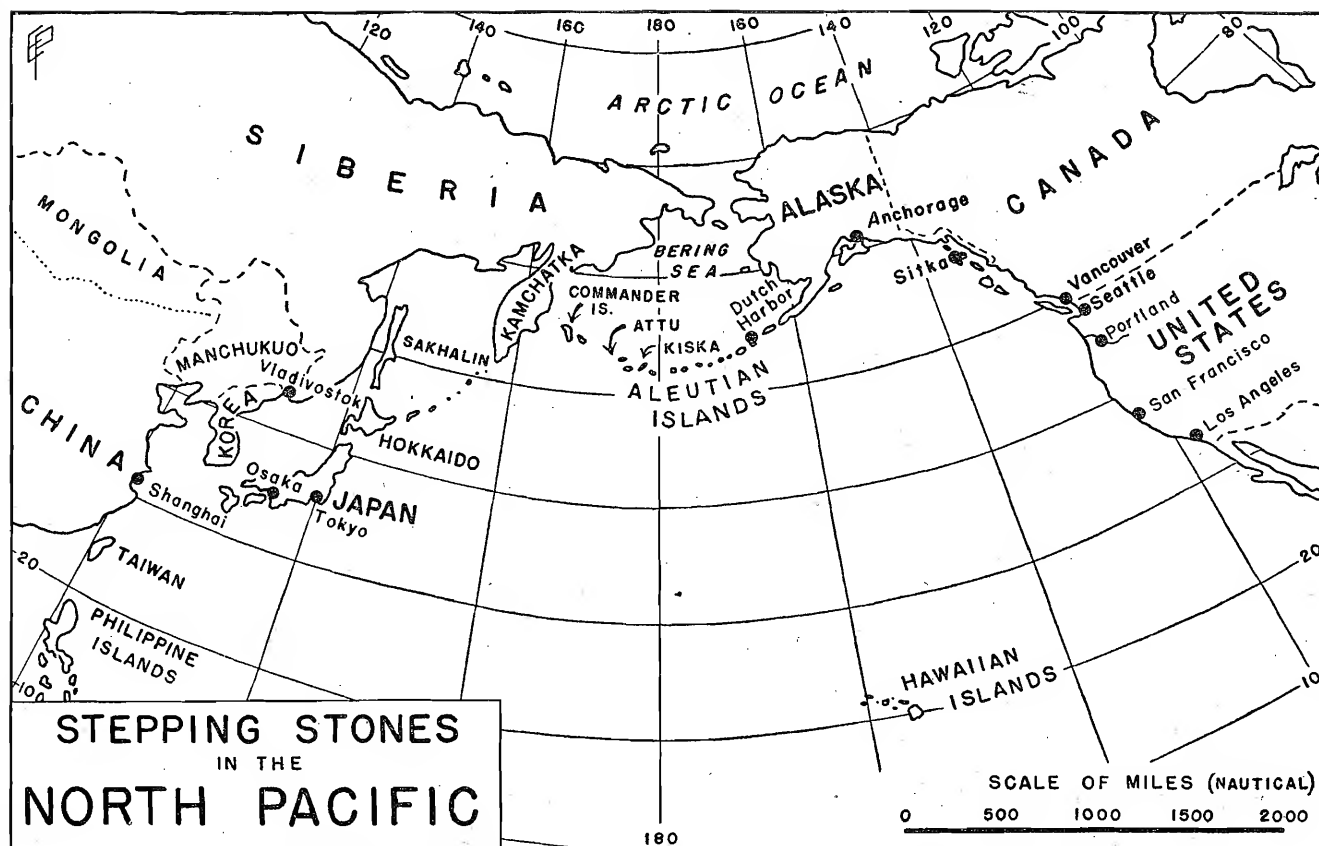


FIG. 12 · STEPPING STONES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC · The short cut to Tokyo—but through fog

Caribbean America after Pearl Harbor. All nine of the Central American and West Indies republics declared war on the Axis, while Colombia and Venezuela severed diplomatic relations. Mexico broke relations and later declared war after her tankers were torpedoed by Axis submarines. In late November, 1943, Colombia recognized a state of belligerency with Germany. The United States trade route to western South America utilizes the Canal, while the route to eastern South America utilizes Trinidad as the main calling port. With the loss of strategic materials in the Far East, such as rubber, tin, and quinine, the resources of Latin America have a vital contribution to make to the war effort of the United States and the United Nations. Finally, northeastern United States is located on the greatest trade route in the world—the North At-

lantic, while northwestern United States is located on a less important trade route—the North Pacific.

The size and shape of the United States are important factors from a geopolitical viewpoint. All world powers of the future must have a large home base capable of defense in depth. The Nazi invasion of Russia and the Japanese invasion of China in the Second World War have conclusively proved this point. The United States has not been invaded by a hostile power since the War of 1812. However, this country would possess defense in depth; with its area of more than 3,000,000 square miles it is comparable to Europe. The enemy could be driven back to the Appalachians in the east, if the invasion were from the Atlantic, and to the Rockies in the west, if the invasion were from the Pacific. Canada

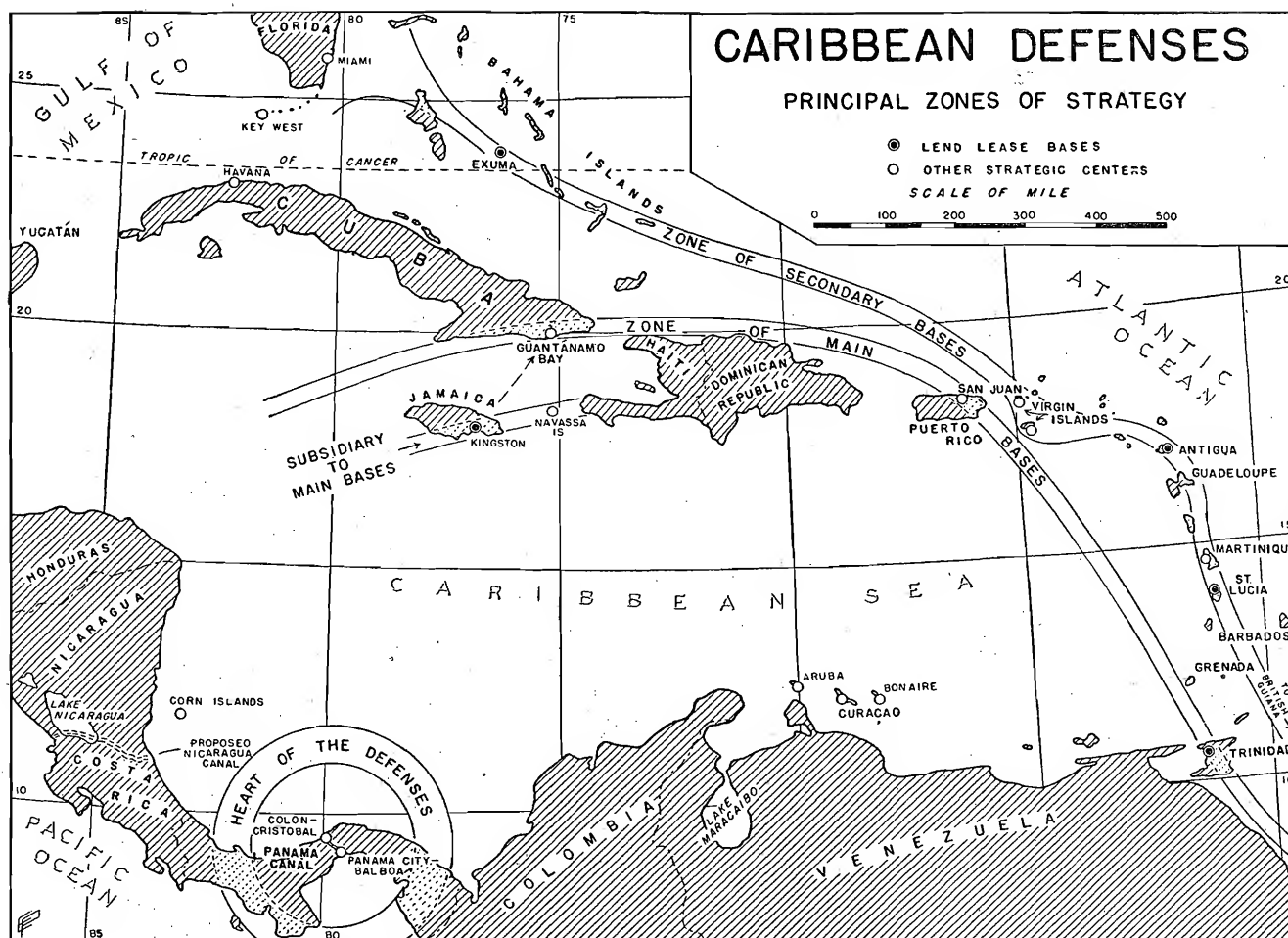


FIG. 13 · CARIBBEAN DEFENSES · The Panama Canal is the keynote to our two-ocean navy

might serve as defense in depth from an invasion across the polar areas, while Mexico would serve as a screen for a land invasion from the south. The industrial heart of the United States and Canada is located in east-central North America. The Soo Canal, connecting Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, and carrying iron ore from northern Minnesota to the industrial areas to the south, would be an excellent target for enemy air forces. Abraham Lincoln, in a message to Congress in 1862, referred to the Egypt of America as extending from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, from the Canadian border to a line separating the corn and cotton cultures. In a future war it might be necessary to move some of the industries back into the

interior of the country, just as the Russians moved their industries back of the Urals before the Nazi invasion.

The compact shape of the United States is also an asset. Because of the vast size of the republic the land and ocean boundaries are long. The Canadian-American boundary, excluding Alaska, is 3,987 miles in length, while the American-Mexican boundary is approximately 2,013 miles. Neither boundary is fortified — an example which might well be emulated by many other nations. Since neither Canada nor Mexico is comparable in power to the United States, and inasmuch as both countries are united in pledge and in deed in hemispheric defense, neither offers any threat



to the United States. The geographic center of the United States is in Smith County, Kansas, at 39° 50' North Latitude and 98° 35' West Longitude. The location of the capital in the District of Columbia on the Atlantic seaboard was an historic compromise between the north and south.

The climate of the United States has been favorable to her development as a world power. Location in the middle latitudes with variability that is characteristic of the cyclonic storms of the westerly wind belt contributes to the health and well-being of the inhabitants. Cool to cold winters and warm to hot summers produce an energetic population interested in industrial achievement and intellectual advancement. Moreover, this climate is favorable for the production of strength-giving foods. In wartime, especially, the strength of a nation is closely related to its capacity to produce ample amounts of the foods that go to make up a well-balanced ration — particularly those that are generally classed as resistance foods. These are necessary both on the battle front and on the home front.

In the nineteenth century the United States was predominantly agricultural, but now only 25 per cent of the population live on the land. Almost one third of the land of the United States is fit for crop production, although only approximately 18 per cent was in crops during peacetime. Apart from tropical produce, which is available in Caribbean America, the United States is self-sufficient in foodstuffs. It produces substantial surpluses of all important foodstuffs, especially wheat, corn, meat, and fruit. However, the proportion of agricultural produce in all exports of the United States has declined from 75 per cent in 1890 to approximately 20 per cent immediately before the present war. In the realm of agricultural raw materials, the United States provides nearly 50 per cent of the world's

cotton. The wool production is not sufficient for domestic needs, but wool can be imported from Argentina and Uruguay. The only serious deficiency among agricultural raw materials is rubber. This shortage is especially serious since the United States consumed 45 per cent of the peacetime rubber production of the world.

The influence of climate is reflected in many of the occupations of the country. The Cotton Belt of the United States is the largest area in the world that is suited by climate for the production of this valuable cash crop. The climate and weather of the Corn Belt help to give rise to one of the world's leading livestock areas. Subtropical Florida, Texas, and California are the natural areas for the growing of the vitamin-giving citrus fruits. The North Central Dairy Belt, with its ample rainfall and cool summers, can be depended upon for an abundance of resistance foods — milk, butter, and cheese. Many areas of the United States are well adapted in climate to the growth of such protein foods as beans and soybeans. Although the United States has depended to a great extent upon cane sugar from Cuba it could, if it were necessary, produce much more beet sugar. In peacetime the per capita consumption of this energy-building food in the United States is approximately 100 pounds a year.

In the middle states from Ohio to the Western plains agriculture and industry are balanced, whereas the Great Plains, which cover a quarter of the United States, have five per cent of the population depending on grain, livestock, and mining for a living. The characteristic industries of the Southwest are commercial grazing and the mineral industries, while in the Northwest the production of lumber, wheat, and apples predominates.

Space in itself possesses no geopolitical significance unless it is occupied by people.

Manpower on the battle front, man and woman power on the home front, are essential for a state at war. The population of the United States is approximately 132 million, a vast increase over 3,800,000, which was the population of the thirteen states in the days of George Washington. The United States with its population can put more than 12 million men in uniform, and at the same time can maintain the production of necessities for war. The population density is 43.6 people per square mile. If the present trends continue, the United States is faced with a stationary, or possibly a declining, population in three or four decades. It is estimated that the population in 1950 will probably be about 150 million. The population center of the United States has been moving westward in the general direction of American expansion. Since 1790 it has moved 602 miles. In 1790 it was 23 miles east of Baltimore; in 1870 it was 48 miles east by north of Cincinnati; in 1910 it was in the city of Bloomington, Indiana; and in 1940 it was two miles southeast by east of Carlisle, in Sullivan County, Indiana. Not only is the large population of the United States satisfactory in the present decade under existing conditions but also the population types are conducive to progress. A large number of Americans are products of an Anglo-Saxon heritage. The fact that the country has become the melting pot of the world has contributed many of the elements that constitute the American way of life. The existence of a large number of Negroes, especially in the deep South, is a significant racial factor.

The rural and urban distribution of the American people is an important aspect in a consideration of population. From an essentially rural country to a great industrial nation has been the course of American history. In 1790 only 5.1 per cent of the

total population were urban, while the rest of the people were rural. According to the 1940 census, 56.5 per cent of the total population were urban, 22.9 per cent were classified as rural farm, and 20.5 per cent were classified as rural non-farm. However, the relationship between the city and the country population is not seriously unbalanced in the United States. Major General Haushofer has warned of the dangers of increased urbanization. He has considered this tendency a geopolitical manometer of weakness in the state.

The general pattern of population distribution in the United States reveals marked contrasts. Throughout the lowlands of much of the central and eastern part of the country population has spread quite evenly. Spotted concentration is conspicuous in the area north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi. This is the great manufacturing belt with its large urban population. West of the Appalachians the highest densities are in the industrial belt to the south of Lake Erie, the upper Ohio Valley, with Pittsburgh as the leading center, the southern and southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, and the margins of the Mohawk Valley and Lake Ontario. In the humid Mississippi Valley the density is moderate, being 25 to 50 per square mile, and the distribution is fairly uniform. West of the one-hundredth meridian the population is not only less dense but less evenly spaced than in the humid Mississippi Valley. In the states of the Pacific coast the leading centers of population are the concentrations in the Great Valley of California and the San Francisco Bay region, the southern center in the smaller valleys in the general area of Los Angeles and San Diego, and in the Puget Sound-Willamette lowland in the north. In all aspects, in numbers, distribution, and type, the population of the United States under present conditions is satisfactory.

One of the essentials of world power is the possession of important raw materials or the command of access to them. The iron-and-steel industry, depending largely upon huge amounts of iron ore and coal, is the basis of world power in an iron age. In modern warfare, petroleum plays an important part in the operation of planes, ships, and tanks of the battlefronts.

The United States holds an enviable position in power resources: coal, petroleum, and developed water power. The republic has slightly more than 50 per cent of the world's coal reserves, while North America as a whole has some 69 per cent. The most productive anthracite coal deposits in the world are found in northeastern Pennsylvania, while the most important bituminous coal deposits in the United States are found in a belt extending from western Pennsylvania to northern Alabama. The United States leads the world in the amount of developed water power, while much of the potential water power of this country is as yet undeveloped. The United States is also the largest single producer and consumer of oil in the world. The Mid-Continent Field of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas is the most important in the country, while the single state of California provides 20 per cent of the annual oil output of the republic. However, the petroleum situation in the United States is grave. Oil geologists have estimated that if the United States continues to draw from its estimated reserves of approximately 20 billion barrels and fails to locate new reserves, the bottom of the oil barrel may be reached from 12 to 20 years hence. In 1942 the new discoveries of oil failed by more than 500 million barrels to equal the oil produced. There is a possibility of extracting oil from shales or of obtaining inferior synthetic fuels, or even of atomic power, but even so, petroleum is still king. In contrast to the depressing outlook of the

petroleum situation in the United States is the optimistic picture of Soviet petroleum both in production and in reserves. One of the most dangerous results of the Second World War is the exhaustion of irreplaceable resources of the United States.

The United States is an important producer of most of the minerals of industry. It is the world's leading producer and consumer of iron and steel goods. Eighty per cent of the iron mined in the United States comes from the upper Great Lakes region. The only country in the world that can possibly compare with the United States in resources of iron ore is the Soviet Union. The United States produces 82 per cent of the world's molybdenum; it is the largest single producer of copper, which is found chiefly in Arizona, Utah, and Montana; it produces about 85 per cent of the world's native sulphur, chiefly in Texas and Louisiana; it has the largest single lead-producing area in the world in southeastern Missouri, and large deposits of lead and zinc in Oklahoma, Kansas, and southwestern Missouri. Moreover, it has easy access to the nickel and platinum of Canada. In the field of the ferro-alloys the United States is deficient to a certain extent in manganese, chromium, and tungsten. The situation in bauxite, the ore of aluminum, has been especially grave. Arkansas is the leading producer in the United States, while British and Dutch Guiana (Surinam) are relied upon as supplementary sources of supply. Since Japan now controls 67 per cent of the tin of the world, located in southeastern Asia, the United States has been forced to depend greatly upon the tin of Bolivia. It has been necessary for both Japan and the United States to construct tin smelters. The United States is also deficient in mercury and antimony. Mexico produces six per cent of the world's mercury and Free China has one half the world's supply of antimony. Canada fur-

nishes some block mica, while Brazil provides quartz crystal for radio-frequency control.

In the field of fibers the United States has, as a result of the war, lost supplies of Manila hemp in the Philippines, kapok in the Netherlands Indies, and silk in Japan and China. The situation, at least for the present, is satisfactory in lumber and pulpwood, although the need for forest conservation is acute if the present status is to be maintained. The sources of coconut-shell char from the Philippines, Malaya, and the Netherlands Indies have been cut off by Japan. Before the outbreak of the conflict in the Pacific the Netherlands Indies furnished between 90 and 95 per cent of the cultivated cinchona tree which is the source of quinine. A serious situation developed in rubber when the area of southeastern Asia that produced 98 per cent of the world's natural rubber fell largely under enemy control. However, the development of synthetic rubber speaks well for the future. And there are possibilities for further development of rubber plantations in Brazil.

The actual effect of the natural resources on the power of the state depends upon the degree of utilization of natural resources and the stage of development. Only in the last 15 or 16 years have the natural resources of Russia been developed to a considerable extent. The natural resources of the United States have been increasingly developed in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. The rise of American manufacturing has been accelerated by the existence of a free market of more than 130 million people under the United States flag, by the availability of a large and steady flow of capital that sought investment, and by the immense size of many American firms, permitting the devoting of considerable sums of money to research.

The natural resources of a state would have little effect on world power without

adequate transportation facilities. The era of railroad construction in the United States is over, ending before 1900. The famous Union Pacific was joined with the Central Pacific at Ogden, Utah, in 1869 by the golden spike linking the east and the west coast by one railroad. The heaviest passenger traffic in the United States is along the Atlantic coast from Boston to Washington, D. C., while the heaviest freight traffic is from the Middle West to the Atlantic ports. The network of automobile highways in the United States is a reflection of the gasoline age of peacetime, when Americans used automobiles to the number of approximately one for every 4.3 people. The development of inland waterways for a time contributed to the transportation facilities of the republic. Most of these have now dropped to comparative insignificance except for the Great Lakes. The development of air routes will be more important in both passenger and freight traffic.

The political and social organization of the United States has contributed to her position of world power. History reveals the many periods of strain and stress through which the nation has passed. The Articles of Confederation, uniting the revolting colonies in a loose confederation in 1781, led to a threat of anarchy. Only the Constitution of 1787, one of the oldest living constitutions, restored order in the land. For a country as large as the United States a constitution was needed which granted powers to a federal government over matters affecting the whole people and left powers to the state governments over matters of local nature. Under the Federal constitution the number of stars in the flag increased to forty-eight, while the thirteen stripes still symbolized the original thirteen colonies. The supremacy of the national government was tested by the four long years of bloody Civil War from 1861 to 1865. Over the ruins of the

South rose a federal government that was truly supreme. The memories of Gettysburg have been dimmed by the passing of years and by the thoughts of the Argonne and the southwest Pacific. The American way of life is symbolized by the democratic type of government. Democracy, in the words of Abraham Lincoln in his famous Gettysburg address, is "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Two world wars in twenty-five years have forced the great republic of the West to defend its way of life. America is still a land of equal opportunity, although the rugged individualism of the past has been forced to yield to increased regulations by the government.

The geopolitical strength of the United States has been expressed by territorial expansion outside the continental domain. In the Atlantic, the War with Spain brought Puerto Rico under the American flag in 1898 with a lease of Guantánamo on southeastern Cuba in 1903. As the result of a revolt in Panama, the Canal Zone was secured from the Republic of Panama in 1903. The Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917. Navassa, south of Cuba and east of Jamaica, was taken over by the United States; Great and Little Corn Islands were leased from Nicaragua. In the Atlantic the defense of the Panama Canal became the chief objective of United States efforts. In the Pacific no orderly plan of expansion was pursued. Midway came into American hands in 1859; Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867; Hawaii, the key to the eastern defenses of the Pacific, was annexed in 1898 by joint resolution of Congress; the Philippines and Guam were won from Spain in the same year; American Samoa, with the important naval base of Pago Pago on the volcanic island of Tutuila, was finally acquired in 1899; Wake was taken over in the same year, although it was not occupied until 1935. As a result of

the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, American troops were stationed in Peking and Tientsin. Over a period of years the United States acquired many small islands in the Pacific: Howland, Baker, Johnston's, Palmyra, Jarvis, Kingman Reef, and Swain's. Canton and Enderbury were placed under the American and British flags in 1937.

After the outbreak of the European phase of the Second World War, the period of anxious neutrality from 1939 to 1941 resulted in additional American bases in the Atlantic area. In the destroyer-base deal of September, 1940, with Great Britain a ninety-nine-year lease for base facilities in the following places was granted: Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Antigua, St. Lucia, Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana. In April, 1941, Greenland was occupied by American forces, while in the following July, Iceland granted the United States the right to land forces. In late 1941 American troops appeared in Surinam to guard the bauxite mines, and in Aruba and Curaçao to guard the oil refineries.

With the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, United States troops were sent to the far corners of the world. (*Figure 14.*) By the end of 1943 they were in the following places, in addition to the ones previously mentioned — in Europe: Northern Ireland, England, Sicily, Italy; in Africa: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, French West Africa (Dakar), French Equatorial Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Belgian Congo, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Eritrea, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, Ascension; in Asia: Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, India, Ceylon, China, Kuwait; in Australasia: Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Fijis, Ellices, Gilberts; and in the Americas: Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Galapagos, Ecuador, Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, Peru, Chile, and Canada.

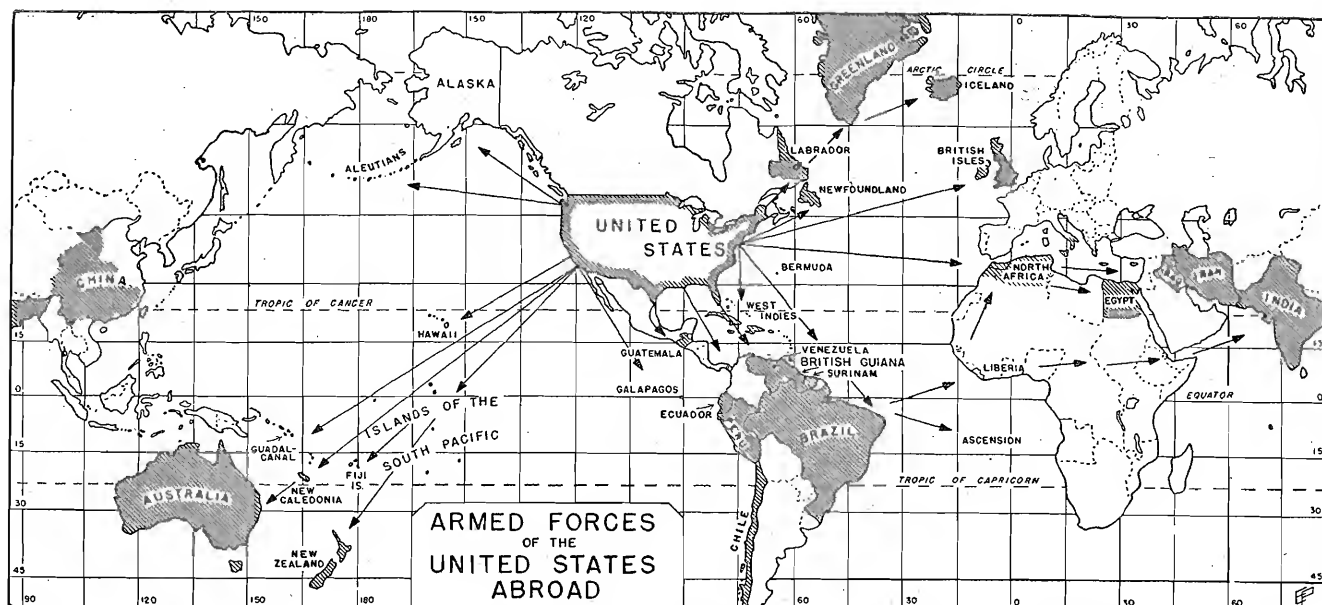


FIG. 14 · ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES ABROAD · Because of their changeability the American fighting fronts are not included on this map

With the tremendous power of the United States in its continental domain and in its present strategic possessions in the Atlantic and Pacific, in what direction will the foreign policy of the republic move? In the first place, there are many factors affecting the foreign policy of the United States. The conduct of foreign relations is a function of the President, acting through the Secretary of State. Although the power of the President is broad and sweeping, he may be limited in action by legislation or by the lack of it. The Senate of the United States must ratify a treaty by a two-thirds vote of approval or the treaty is rejected. Moreover, the President must closely approximate the prevailing ideas of the country, indeed, of the country as a whole. During the decade from 1931 to 1941 the President and the Secretary of State were convinced at an early stage that the Axis powers were aiming toward an ultimate attack on the United States, while much of the public opinion of the country would not recognize the possibility of an attack on the United States. Finally, American foreign policy is

limited by the policies and reactions of other governments.

In general, the foreign policy of the United States is based on a firm geographical foundation. American foreign policy has been both global, as applying to the whole world, and regional, as applying to parts of the world. In the former category are the preservation of world peace, the promotion of trade, the protection of minorities, non-intervention in the affairs of other states, the settlement of all disputes by "orderly processes," and others of a similar nature. The regional policies have been directed toward Europe, Latin America, and the Far East. Toward Europe the United States has attempted to pursue a policy of isolation from the political affairs of the continent. But two world wars within twenty-five years have revealed that the political affairs of Europe involve the rest of the world in global war. The United States is not vitally interested in the assassination of an Austrian archduke or in a dispute over a free city and a corridor of land. Yet if these disputes lead to a general



conflagration, the vital interests of the United States are involved. Who knows where the line can be drawn? Toward Latin America the United States has followed the ideas of the Monroe Doctrine, which has been interpreted in many ways since 1823, from the "big stick" policy of intervention under Theodore Roosevelt to the non-intervention Good Neighbor policy under Franklin Roosevelt. Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine has been changed from a unilateral statement to a multilateral agreement, by which all the Pan American Republics have obligations to resist aggression from outside the hemisphere. The unity of the Americas is expressed by Pan Americanism. The tangible evidence of Pan Americanism is the fact that of the twenty-one republics of the Pan American Union there was by November 1, 1943 only one neutral (Argentina), while thirteen others were at war and seven had broken all relations with the Axis. Toward the Far East the United States has followed a policy of supporting the Open Door in China and the territorial integrity of the country. The idea of the Open Door was urged by Secretary of State Hay in 1899, and the idea of the territorial integrity of China was also urged by him in 1900. In the Nine-Power Pact of the Washington Conference in 1921-1922 even Japan accepted the American principles on China. The New Order in Greater East Asia was a direct and flagrant violation of the Open Door and the territorial integrity of China long before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The future foreign policy of the United States is a question. Major General Haushofer has stated that the geopolitics of American foreign policy were good until 1900, when the United States began to support the British Empire to the detriment of its own interests. One of the greatest reasons why the United States finally became involved in the Second World War was the belief among

prominent Americans that the collapse of China in the Far East and the fall of Britain and Russia in Europe would open the way for an eventual Nazi-Japanese squeeze play on the United States from the North Atlantic approaches, from the North Pacific approaches, and from Latin America. Several possibilities are open for future American foreign policy: the United States may move toward a streamlined empire, especially in the Pacific, in Latin America and possibly in west Africa; Washington may support a world organization of collective security based upon Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations; the United States may attempt to maintain a balance of power with a strong friend in Europe, in eastern Asia, and in South America; Washington may resort to isolationism, as it did at the conclusion of the First World War; the United States may move toward a regional organization of peace with a position of leadership in the Pacific region and the Western Hemisphere.

Great decisions must be made by the people and the government of the United States. Shall the nation after the defeat of Japan retire to the Pacific triangle of defense — Alaska-Hawaii-Panama Canal Zone — or shall the United States continue the defense of the Philippines with the Japanese Mandated Islands under American control? Will the United States tolerate in Latin America the existence of any government having the trappings of Fascism? Shall the United States aid the Soviet Union in repairing her devastated areas by the loaning of credits and technicians, knowing that the U.S.S.R. may emerge as the dominant power of Eurasia? The graves of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers scattered all over the earth will bring to the people of America a realization of their destiny in the world. The American people have learned that war is global; they must learn that peace is international.

## Chapter Six · Japan: Oriental Version of Geopolitics

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The geographical resemblances of the position of Japan off eastern Asia and the British Isles off western Europe are striking. The Sea of Japan corresponds to the North Sea, and the Korea Strait to the Strait of Dover. Korea becomes the dagger at the heart of Japan similar to the Low Countries as a dagger at the heart of Great Britain. Hokkaido and Sakhalin command the outlet of Russia to the open sea on the north, just as Scotland and the Orkneys command that of the Reich. Caesar invaded Britain; the Angles and the Saxons founded the English state; William the Conqueror in 1066 invaded Britain from Normandy. Under the Plantagenets, the British ruled over the larger part of France. In the early 1400's Charles VII, with the aid of Joan of Arc, freed most of the French soil, although Calais was still in English hands. With the reign of Elizabeth, England turned to the ocean and constructed, in the course of time, three empires on the seven seas. Since the age of Louis XIV, the Strait of Dover has been a barrier, not a bridge, of empire.

The history of Japan is similar to that of Britain in many respects. In the 1200's the Japanese defeated the Mongols; in the 1500's the Japanese invaded Korea under Hideyoshi. The history of the Pacific would have been quite different if Hideyoshi's plans of an empire in Greater East Asia had been fulfilled. Shortly after the disastrous invasion of Korea, Japan withdrew from the world for three centuries. It was Commodore Perry of the United States who opened up the Island Kingdom in 1853. Since that time Nippon has followed the

policy of Plantagenet England toward the mainland. By the time Japan had emerged from exclusion, only the Asiatic shores facing her were open for occupation. The Americas and northern and southern Asia were barred to her. Strategically, the Japanese needed complete naval superiority in all the waters surrounding the mainland of Japan. This meant domination of the Asiatic waters from the Aleutians to the channel separating Taiwan from the Philippines. Gradually, two schools of thought arose in Japan: those who believed that the future of the state rested on the ocean, and those who believed that it rested on the mainland.

From the Japanese Monroe Doctrine to the New Order in Greater East Asia, Japan has determined to carry out her "mission." The Japanese frequently referred to the "mission" in early days as a Monroe Doctrine. The Japanese Monroe Doctrine arose from the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. The essential principles of the doctrine are Pan Asianism, self-defense, the right to live, Japanese leadership in the Far East, and the concept of "special interests."<sup>1</sup> The Japanese furthermore assert that their Monroe Doctrine is clearly akin to the American. Refusal of the United States to take such an attitude is not conducive to harmony in the Pacific, according to the sons of Nippon.

Pan Asianism is a very intangible and flexible expression. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, believed in it for a while. He favored the unity of all the

<sup>1</sup>George H. Blakeslee, "The Japanese Monroe Doctrine," *Foreign Affairs*, II (July, 1933), 672-675.

Asiatic peoples in order that they might secure their independence and freedom. He opposed the enslavement and oppression of Oriental nations by the West. However, Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated non-intervention in the affairs of other states. In Kobe, on November 23, 1924, he asserted that "Oriental culture stood for the way of right whereas Western culture stood for the way of might." Probably Dr. Sun's Pan Asianism was opportunistic. Some of his other interests, seemingly contradictory, were an Anglo-Chinese alliance against Japan and an alliance with Russia against all "imperialistic" powers. Both Nanking and Chungking honor his memory today. Pan Asianism is very popular in Japan, especially in high military circles. These maintain that the Western powers must be driven from China, the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines, and India. Today "Asia for the Asiatics" is synonymous with "Japan over Asia." The appeal of Pan Asianism among the Asiatics outside of Japan is not wide.

The second principle of the Japanese Monroe Doctrine is the idea of self-defense. Viscount Kikujiro Ishii remarked in 1933:

"Particularly in Korea and Manchuria, we have consistently followed a policy dictated by the sole motive of establishing our own security. . . . Today as thirty years ago, Manchuria is the key to our security. . . . Generally speaking, our policy in China has been based upon the belief that the establishment of an imperium in imperio upon her soil by any powerful third nation or group of nations is not only derogatory to her integrity but is also incompatible with our own security."<sup>2</sup>

The problem of security, like an insatiable

<sup>2</sup>Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, II (January, 1933), 225-227.

appetite, is an ever-growing issue. First Korea was the "dagger pointed at the heart of Japan." The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 was fought over this country. Then Manchuria became the "life line" of Japan. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was fought over Russian penetration in Korea and Manchuria. The former was annexed in 1910, but the latter was not completely controlled by Tokyo until after the Incident in 1931. North China followed in the procession of areas vital to the defense of Japan. By December 7, 1941, the whole South Pacific was considered essential to the defense of the Island Empire. (Figure 15)

The doctrine of self-defense has led to a division of opinion in Japan between the continental and the maritime schools of thought. The army is interested in the mainland of Asia, especially the areas under the Chinese and Soviet flags north of the Yangtze, with the U.S.S.R. as the major enemy. The navy is interested in a vast maritime empire in the South Pacific, extending from British Malaya to New Zealand, with Great Britain (and now the United States) as the principal enemy. This school of thought is interested in the economic domination of China and especially in her vulnerable coast line. Every war minister since 1931 has had a continental background. Four of them, including Hideki Tojo, served with the Kwantung Army. "Continental" Japanese have almost always become anti-British and anti-American. The Japanese rationalize the situation as a conflict to free Asia from the capitalistic exploitation of the West.

The third principle in the Japanese Monroe Doctrine is the right to live. (Figure 16) The Shidehara school has advocated close economic co-operation with China on a mutual basis. After the Manchuria Incident, the right to live meant the economic exploitation of China for Japan's own bene-

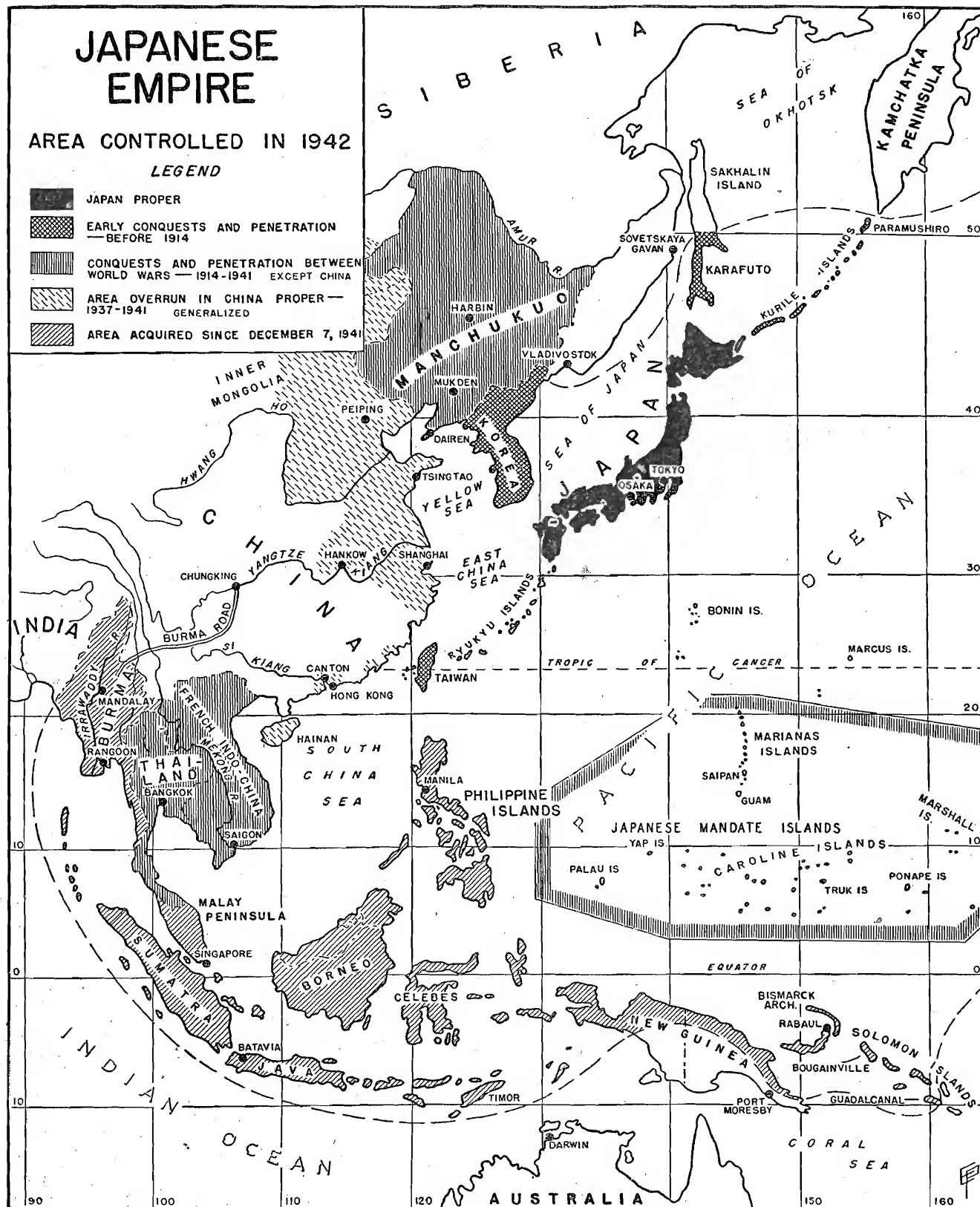


FIG. 15 · JAPANESE EMPIRE · The octopus-like aggression of the Japanese is evident from the legend of this map.

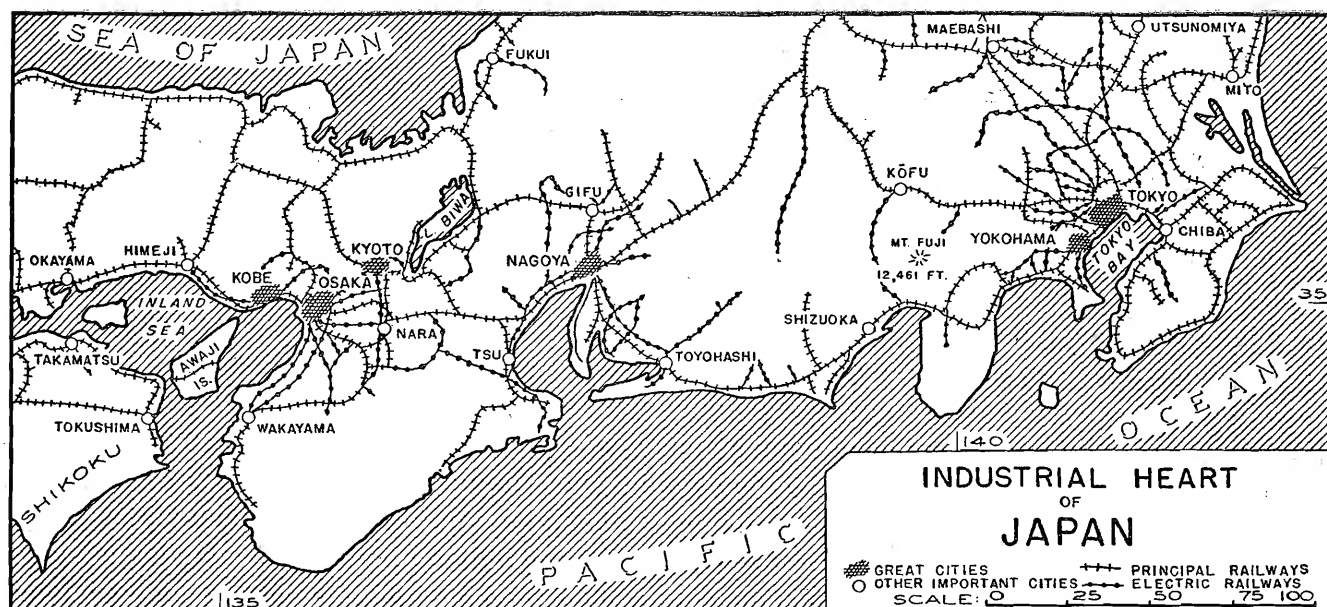


FIG. 16. · INDUSTRIAL HEART OF JAPAN · A vulnerable area shielded by vast areas and great distances

fit. The economic situation within Japan was partly to blame for this attitude. Land utilization in the Japanese islands was reaching, or had reached, its limits. The Japanese also sought to acquire control of the sources of raw materials to feed their industries and to support their fast-expanding population. Furthermore, Japan had embarked on an intensive development of light manufacturing industries largely for export. Consequently Manchuria had become a "life line" of supply for requisites like iron ore, food, cotton, and salt. Like the right of self-defense, the right to live was gradually expanded from the control of Manchuria to China, and the South Pacific.

The fourth principle of the Japanese Monroe Doctrine is the right of Nipponese leadership in the Far East. The Three-Power Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 27, 1940, acknowledged the leadership of Japan in the Orient. Premier Konoye on October 4, 1940, emphasized this idea of leadership, even extending the principle to the New World: "If the United States recognizes the posi-

tions and stands of Japan, Germany, and Italy, those countries will recognize the guiding position of the United States on the American continent." In June, 1940, Arita in a broadcast to the Japanese people pictured an aggregation of satellites in East Asia and the South Pacific revolving harmoniously around Japan as a "stabilizing" force. Arita agreed with Confucius that all nations should find their proper places. The doctrine of Japanese leadership in the Far East reached its logical completion in the declarations of war on the United States and Great Britain on December 8, 1941.

The fifth principle of the Japanese Monroe Doctrine is the idea of "special interests" in China. The Japanese claim that Manchuria is to Japan what Mexico is to the United States. The Treaty of Peking signed between China and Japan after the Russo-Japanese War laid the legal foundation for the steadily expanding special rights of Japan in Manchuria. China recognized the transfer to Japan of the Russian lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and the South

Manchuria Railway. Japan also claimed that China in the negotiations promised not to build any main railroad lines detrimental to Japanese interests "in the neighborhood of and parallel to the South Manchuria Railway." The Lytton Commission found that China had made such a promise, although the agreement was initialed and not signed.

The Japanese have consistently sought to get foreign recognition of their "special" position. In the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 reference was made to the special interests of each in China. In the renewal of the alliance in 1905 the *casus belli* arose if "either contracting power should be involved in war in defense of its territorial rights or special interests." The pact between France and Japan on June 10, 1907, referred to the special interests of each in peace and security "especially in those regions of the Chinese Empire adjacent to the territories where they have the rights of sovereignty, protection, or occupation." However, neither the Franco-Japanese agreement nor the Anglo-Japanese Alliance recognized Japan herself as having greater rights in China.

Meanwhile the Japanese and Americans had been discussing the problem of special rights. In July, 1905, a signed memorandum of conversation between Taft and Katsura recognized respectively Japan's interests in Korea and the interests of the United States in the Philippines. In the Root-Takahira agreement of November, 1908, no mention was made of special interests. Each state agreed to maintain the status quo in the Pacific. Secretary Bryan on March 13, 1915, recognized that "territorial contiguity creates special relations between Japan and those territories," that is, Eastern Inner Mongolia and South Manchuria. In the Lansing-Ishii agreement of November 2, 1917:

"The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in that part to which her possessions are contiguous."

Viscount Ishii had tried to get the United States to accept the phrase "paramount interests," but Secretary Lansing refused. The latter interpreted the phrase "special interests in China" as economic, while the former tried to secure a political interpretation. The agreement was officially terminated by an exchange of notes between Secretary of State Hughes and the Japanese Ambassador on April 14, 1923.

The Japanese gradually began to defend their position by a series of islands to the north, southeast, and southwest — the Kuriles (Chishima) from Russia in 1875, where the important Japanese base of Paramushiro is now located, the Bonins (Ogasawara) in the same year, and the Ryukyu Islands (Oshima Shoto) in 1874 from China. As a result of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–1895, the Japanese acquired Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores Islands, while China was forced to recognize the independence of Korea as Japan had done in 1876. The cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan by China was prevented by the action of Germany, France, and Russia. Taiwan became an important Japanese base for eventual southern expansion as well as the leading source of sugar for the Japanese Empire. Taiwan also afforded the Japanese an opportunity to try out colonial administration. The natives of Taiwan are of Chinese racial stock, and the Kuomintang Government considers the island part of "unredeemed China."

In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War began



with a surprise Japanese torpedo attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur without a formal declaration of war. However, Japan had previously broken diplomatic relations with Russia, while the Japanese were continuing discussions with the United States at the actual time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Treaty of Portsmouth, in 1905, bringing to a conclusion the Russo-Japanese War, provided for Russian recognition of Japan's political, military, and economic interests in Korea, the evacuation of Manchuria by both Russia and Japan, and the lease of Port Arthur and the Russian railroad south of Changchun, with the subsequent consent of China. Southern Sakhalin was ceded to Japan, and fishing rights were granted to the Nipponese. Japan emerged from the Russo-Japanese War as the strongest state in the Far East. For the first time in 450 years an Asiatic state had defeated a great European nation; the subject peoples of India and even the Philippines were inspired. Another far-reaching result of the Russo-Japanese War was the beginning of ill-will between Tokyo and Washington. The success of the Japanese caused several American publicists to predict further Nipponese advances in the Pacific. After careful diplomatic preparation, Japan in 1910 formally annexed Korea (Chosen).

Korea is a peninsula 660 miles long and 100 miles wide. The strait which separates the peninsula from Japan is 120 miles wide, with the Japanese island of Tsushima almost in the middle. The 23 million people of Korea have a Mongoloid origin, but they are culturally Chinese. The people of the Land of the Morning Calm have never been reconciled to Japanese rule. The Koreans have remarked that a dog cannot bark in their country without the permission of the Japanese. At present, a provisional Korean "government" has been set up at Chung-

king, China. Nationalist China does not consider Korea a part of "unredeemed China" and favors the independence of the people.

The Liaotung Peninsula was used by the Japanese as the main springboard into Manchuria. On the Liaotung Peninsula is Dairen, the terminus of the South Manchuria Railway and the best warm-water port of northeastern Asia. Port Arthur, the neighboring naval base, guards the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili and Peiping. The famous Kwantung Army (destined to have significant influence on the future foreign policy of Japan) was based on the Liaotung Peninsula.

In 1914 Japan entered the First World War as an ally of Great Britain in the Far East, although London was not at all eager for the entrance of its Japanese ally since 1902 into the conflict. As a result of the war the Japanese evicted the Germans from the Shantung Peninsula and acquired the German islands north of the equator as C mandates. These islands have tremendous significance in the present war and in the future Pacific. The Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls extend for 2500 miles east to west and for 1200 miles north to south, forming a rough triangle with the Marianas at the apex. They consist of 1400 islands and coral reefs having a land area of 829 square miles. The economic value of the islands is limited to coconuts, sugar, copra, and phosphates. The population in 1933 was 80,000, of whom 50,000 were native Micronesians, and 30,000 Japanese, most of whom had emigrated there after 1920. As long as these islands remained in the hands of a European power whose navy did not have world proportions, the islands could not cause any difficulty in the protection of the Philippines by the United States. Spain secured her hold on the Carolines and Marianas in the 1870's, and Germany on the

Marshalls in the 1880's. After the Spanish-American War the Germans bought, for four and a half million dollars, the Spanish islands, with the exception of Guam, which Spain ceded to the United States. Although the German flag over the islands was not a real threat to the security of American possessions in the Pacific, the raising of the Japanese flag over the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls was a different matter. Here was a strong country, located nearby, with a growing navy. The islands would at once become a menace to the security of the Philippines if they were fortified.

The tragic fate of Guam, Wake, and the Philippines is due partly to the existence of these stationary aircraft carriers extending for 2500 miles between Hawaii and the Philippines. Saipan and Rota, in the Marianas, Ponape, Palau, Yap, and Truk in the Carolines, and Jaluit in the Marshalls are the chief islands of importance. Truk, the great Japanese base in the Carolines, for instance, is the location from which reinforcements are sent to Rabaul in New Britain. It is an atoll of 30 miles in diameter with seven major basaltic islands surrounded by a great coral reef. If the United States after the war intends to withdraw to the Pacific triangle of defense — Alaska, Hawaii, and the Panama Canal area, the fate of the mandated islands is not important to Washington. However, if the United States intends to protect the Philippine Islands after their independence, the mandated islands should be under American influence either through direct annexation or through an international commission.

Japan also seized the opportunity of the First World War to present the famous Twenty-one Demands to China in 1915. The Twenty-one Demands were presented directly to the President of China, with a Japanese threat of reprisals if they were not kept secret or if they were communicated to

other powers. They were classified in five groups. The essential points of each group are as follows: first, China should agree to any surrender of German properties in Shantung that Japan might be able to effect; second, the leases on Port Arthur and Dairen, the South Manchuria and Antung-Mukden railroads should be extended 99 years; third, the Hanyehping Company, an iron-mining and smelting company in China, should go under co-operative Sino-Japanese management, with China promising not to sell her interest in the company without Japanese consent; fourth, China should not cede or lease to a third power any harbor, bay, or island along her coast; and fifth, Japanese should be used by the Chinese Government as political, military, and financial advisers; the police departments in certain districts should be administered jointly by the Chinese and Japanese; China should buy 50 per cent or more of her munitions from Japan or build a Sino-Japanese arsenal, using Japanese technicians and Japanese material; and finally, Japan should be consulted on foreign loans for use in developing mines and other industries in Fukien Province.

The Chinese believe that if these demands had been entirely accepted China would have become a vassal of Japan. Many of them think that the essence of the Twenty-one Demands is similar to the New Order of today, although the scope of the latter is far greater. However, the Japanese demands of 1915 were not accepted in total by the Chinese. The United States informed Japan that it could not recognize agreements that contravened the territorial integrity of China or the Open Door. Japanese treaties with Yuan Shih-Kai confirmed the Island Empire's newly acquired rights in Shantung and strengthened its hold in south Manchuria. Eventually the Japanese stated that Group V consisted of "wishes" and withdrew them

at the Washington Conference. Although President Wilson was unable to dislodge Japan from its new vantage points on the continent at the Paris Peace Conference, the Nipponese agreed at the Washington Conference to withdraw from Shantung Province and to accept the Nine-Power Treaty in exchange for naval security in Far-Eastern waters. The 5.5.3 ratio in capital ships insured the Japanese fleet superiority in Asiatic waters from Kamchatka to Indo-China. The status quo of 1922 regarding forts and naval bases in the Pacific was to be preserved: no new ones were to be established, while no coastal defenses were to be increased, by Great Britain, as regards Hong Kong and insular possessions east of 110° East Longitude, except Australia and territories, New Zealand, and islands near Canada; by Japan, as regards Taiwan, the Bonins, the Pescadores, and the Ryukyu Islands; and by the United States excepting Alaska, Hawaii, and the Canal area. At the end of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, and in December, 1936, the treaty became obsolete.

Japan began the march of aggression in 1931 with the invasion of Manchuria. On the night of September 18, 1931, an explosion occurred on or in the neighborhood of the Japanese South Manchuria Railway tracks near Mukden. Within twenty-four hours, the most important cities in southeastern Manchuria were occupied by the Japanese. After the eventual occupation of the rest of the area, the independent state of Manchukuo was set up under Japanese leadership; an alliance between the two countries was signed on September 15, 1932. Three motives determined the Japanese policy: the economic conditions within Japan, the strategic desire of outflanking the Soviets, and the psychological idea of imperial prestige.

The Council of the League of Nations, which had failed to induce Japan to withdraw her troops into the South Manchuria Railway zone, appointed a commission of five to study the controversy on the spot. The commission, with Lord Lytton of England as chairman, included Major General Frank McCoy, an American. The chief conclusions of the Lytton Report stated that the military activity of the Japanese after the explosion on September 18, 1931, was not self-defense; that Manchukuo was primarily the creation of the Japanese; that the people of the area were generally opposed to the new regime; and that the recognition and preservation of Manchukuo were contrary to the peace treaties. The commission recommended that Manchuria become an autonomous region under Chinese sovereignty, provided with foreign advisers to assure good government. The integrity of China would have been preserved, while Japan in a treaty would have been given all the privileges which she claimed before 1931.

The League of Nations considered the report, but the Japanese insisted on the independence of Manchukuo as a prerequisite for a satisfactory solution. The Committee of Nineteen finally endorsed the findings of the Lytton Commission and urged the non-recognition of Manchukuo. The Assembly of the League of Nations accepted the Report of the Committee of Nineteen on February 24, 1933. Japan was the only nation to vote in the negative, while Siam refrained from taking a stand. The next day the United States indicated its approval of the League's action. On March 11, 1932, the League of Nations adopted the non-recognition policy of Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, which was presented in a note to Japan and China on January 7. Japanese withdrawal from Geneva ensued. Many Japanese considered the withdrawal

a "good riddance" for the League, since they said the League was "primarily and essentially" a European organization. Former Secretary of State Stimson saw the significance of the Manchurian crisis when he said:

"The assault upon the Chinese government in Manchuria by the Japanese army in September, 1931, was the first major blow at the new system of war limitation and prevention built up by the nations which had suffered in the Great War."<sup>3</sup>

The withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations on March 24, 1933, due to the "irreconcilable divergence of views, dividing Japan and the League on policies of peace, and especially as regards the fundamental principles to be followed in the establishment of a durable peace in the Far East" marked the determination of the Japanese to follow their own path of action. The phrase "durable peace in the Far East" was destined to become the New Order in East Asia on November 2, 1940. In general, many official Japanese statements, especially those dealing with the New Order, may be characterized by inexactness of expression. Yet Japanese spokesmen have frankly divided the world into regional areas, with Japan supreme in the western Pacific, Germany in Europe, and the United States in the New World. Occasionally the Soviet Union and the British Empire have been admitted to this selective group of co-prosperity spheres.

Conditions within Japan are largely responsible for her domineering attitude toward China, just as conditions in Germany prepared the way for the rise of Adolf Hitler. The Japanese have no Führer or Duce, as have their Axis partners in Europe. The Emperor, who is the incarnation of the Japanese

race, and who is divine in the minds of the citizens, is removed from the world of reality with which the Caesars of the West are associated. The opening words of the preamble of the Constitution of Japan, in 1889, and the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, reveal a vast difference in the political ideals of the two nations. The Japanese reads: "Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal . . ." The American states: "We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect Union . . . do ordain and establish the Constitution of the United States of America."

Under the dual character of the Japanese constitutional system, a prime minister is free in his choice of all his ministers except the war and navy portfolios, where the military and navy "cliques" furnish the general or lieutenant-general and the admiral or vice-admiral who head these posts. Also the chiefs of the general staffs as well as the war and navy ministers have direct access to the presence of the Emperor, who is the commander-in-chief of the nation's armed forces. A Japanese scholar on the Constitution of his country, Tatsuji Takeuchi, asserts: "The general staffs of the navy and the army not being under the complete control of the cabinet, it is conceivable that the staffs may exert undue pressure upon the executive to take 'decisive' measures against a foreign state, or may discourage the executive from taking a more 'positive' attitude in diplomatic negotiations preceding the commencement of war."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the army has been greatly influenced by many secret societies throughout the course of recent Japanese history. Among these organizations are the "Society for the Life in the East," founded

<sup>3</sup>Henry L. Stimson, *The Far Eastern Crisis* (New York, 1936), XI.

<sup>4</sup>Tatsuji Takeuchi, *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire* (New York, 1935), 453.

by Toyama in 1924; the "League for the Development of the Orient," founded by Kasagi in 1924; the "League for Eastern Asia," founded by Okano in 1925; the "Red Hearts," founded at Shantung in 1922; and the "Great Union," founded in 1924 by Yoshida. However, it is extremely difficult to discover exactly what officials have the last word in the determination of Japanese policy, whether they are the palace officers, the army and navy chiefs of staff, the Privy Council members, the Deputies and Peers, the Cabinet members, or the Prime Minister. Since Western terminology is deficient in classifying the type of government in Japan, the Empire may be called a semi-Fascist state, for want of a better term.

The economic situation in Nippon was becoming more critical as the 1930's advanced. Compared with Western nations, Japan had only recently emerged from a medieval way of life. The speed of the transition from a feudal state to a modern power had been aided by the Western pressure on Japan. Today the depressed peasantry, a large proletariat, and the little business men support a relatively small upper class of landowners, a large military organization and the great industrial capitalists. An expanding population of 72 million is crowded into Japan proper, an area almost the size of California. Japan will soon be faced with a marked decline in the number of births and an increase in the number of deaths by the war. Yet the increase in the laboring population is still outnumbering the expansion of the factories, raising the problem of the standard of living. The continuous expansion of Japanese trade for at least another generation would be necessary for the maintenance or improvement of the standard of living in Japan. In addition, the Chinese market is essential for the disposal of Japanese products, although

trade can be carried on successfully only with friendly customers. With few raw materials, faced with foreign tariffs, and lacking capital for competitive financial imperialism, the Japanese have chosen to follow the path of armed conflict.

Nippon is roughly self-sufficient in respect to her present diet, although the lack of vitamins A and B in fats causes malnutrition in the islands. A continual supply of cereals is necessary from the colonies or foreign sources. The Japanese are dependent on outside sources for all clothing materials except silk. They cannot acquire at home self-sufficiency in raw materials needed for the production of consumers' and producers' goods. They are forced to import their coking coal, most of their oil, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, nickel, chrome, molybdenum, manganese, and much of their iron. In the present war the Japanese have suffered a decline in production, due to the loss of more than 10 per cent of their labor supply. The armament production is greater, but the domestic consumption of goods is lower probably by more than 40 per cent of pre-war levels. The decline in Japanese consumption affects productivity through suffering among the workers, whose health is essential for the welfare of the empire. Furthermore, serious financial difficulties have arisen as a result of the war. However, these handicaps do not dangerously affect Nippon's ability to carry on the conflict. The Japanese claim that the strength of a country does not lie in the amount of materials she possesses but in the dynamic quality of the people of the nation. Time alone will tell whether or not the foundations of Japan are built on clay.

After the Japanese acquisition of Manchuria and Jehol, the activities of the Nipponese would indicate that Japan sought to reduce China to vassalage by establishing control in sequence and by regions. (*Table 1.*)

The problem of defending Jehol from attack below the Great Wall and the desirability of establishing a buffer zone between Manchukuo and the Chinese armies led to a military thrust into Hopei, part of which, north of the Great Wall, had been previously seized with Jehol. The North China offensive lasted from April 1, 1933, to May 27, 1933, although Peiping and Tientsin were not occupied by the Japanese. On May 31, 1933, the Chinese military staff at Peiping entered into an arrangement with the Kwantung Army. The Tangku Truce created a demilitarized zone between the Great Wall and a line extending from east to west, passing a few miles north of Tientsin and Peiping. The Japanese army was to withdraw north of the Wall, police duties were to be exercised by a special Chinese organization, and the Chinese were to withdraw all military forces. However, according to the Boxer Protocol of 1901, Japanese troops continued to be stationed along the railroad from Tientsin to Shanhaikwan. By the Tangku Truce the Chinese government was forced to give unofficial recognition of the loss of Manchuria and Jehol.

In 1935 the Ho-Umetzu agreement provided for the closing of the offices of the Kuomintang in Hopei and Chahar, the withdrawal of Chinese forces in Hopei, and the closing of the Peiping branch of the National Military Council. In November, 1935, Major General Kenji Doihara of the Kwantung Army revealed that the five provinces of North China — Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shantung, and Shansi — were ready to unite in an autonomous regime. The movement failed because the Tokyo Government disapproved after it learned that the effort was not spontaneous but engineered by General Doihara, because of the violent opposition of Chinese students all over the republic, because of the Japanese

failure to get a good number of Chinese figureheads, and because of the hostility of the United States and Great Britain. However, Yin Ju-keng still headed the East Hopei Autonomous Government under the control of the Japanese, while the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, with General Sung Cheh-Yuan, kept its formal allegiance to Nanking. On June 23, 1935, an agreement between Generals Chin Te-Chun and Doihara had compelled certain Chinese forces to leave Chahar. Indeed, General Doihara has frequently received the nickname of "Lawrence of Asia."

On April 18, 1934, Eiji Amau director of the intelligence bureau of the Japanese foreign office, issued the famous statement which has been called Japan's Monroe Doctrine for East Asia. Referring to Nippon's "special position" in China and her "mission" and "special responsibilities in East Asia," Amau asserted that Japan "must even act alone" on its own responsibility. He stated that Japan would oppose "any joint operations undertaken by foreign powers, even in the name of technical and financial assistance"; the supplying of China with military airplanes, the building of airdromes, the detailing of military instructors or advisers; and the granting of political loans to China by any state. The statement was directed in particular against the League of Nations, Great Britain, France, and the United States. The League had just sent a staff of experts headed by Dr. Ludwig Rajchman to study the conditions in the republic and to advise the Chinese concerning expenditures in the fields of education, health, agriculture, communications, and in administrative reform. The United States, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, had agreed to grant a \$50,000,000 credit to China for American cotton and wheat. China had also bought a large number of airplanes from private American,



**Table 1 • Territorial Expansion of Japan prior to the Outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937**

TERRITORY	DATE ACQUIRED	METHOD OF ACQUISITION	LOCATION	AREA (Sq. Mi.)	POPULATION	MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE	ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE
Bonin Islands (Ogasawarajima)	1875	Annexation	Group of islands 500 miles south of Japan Proper	27	5,000	To screen Japan from south	Some valuable timber
Kurile Islands (Chishima Islands)	1875	Negotiation with Russia	Arc of islands between northern Japan and Kamchatka	6,150	4,400	Bulwark of defense to north of Japan	In rich fishing area
Ryukyu Islands	1879 [1874]	Annexation	Arc of islands between Japan Proper and Taiwan	935	455,000	Inner screen of defense to southwest and stepping stones to Taiwan	Unimportant: cultivation of sugar cane and manufacture of some fabrics
Taiwan (Formosa)	1895	Military conquest from China (Treaty of Shimonoseki)	Island off southern coast of China Cut by tropic of Cancer	14,000	5,315,000	Empire naval base and practice ground for warfare in wet tropics	Source of sugar cane for Japan. Also rice, tea, jute, camphor, and other tropical and subtropical products. Some coal
Pescadores	1895	Military conquest from China	Island group off western shore of Taiwan	85	70,000	Auxiliary to Taiwan	Main industry is fishing (no other important ones)
Karafuto	1905	Military conquest from Russia (Treaty of Portsmouth)	Southern portion of island of Sakhalin (south of 50° North Latitude)	13,935	332,000	Sentinel against maritime provinces of Russia	Coal and naphtha and some iron, gold, and petroleum. Small lumbering industry. Fisheries
Kwantung Peninsula (Including cities of Dairen and Port Arthur)	1905	Military conquest from Russia—treaty approval by China	Southern peninsula of Manchukuo	1,435	1,657,000	Spearhead for penetration into Manchukuo	Ice-free port Outlet for Manchukuo Railroad termini
Korea (Chosen)	1910	Annexation following penetration and control	Peninsula of Asiatic mainland (reaches to within 125 miles of Japan Proper)	85,206	22,048,000	Control of the "dagger pointing at the heart of Japan"	Mainly agricultural: rice, grains, cotton, and ginseng. Minerals: Some coal, iron, copper, silver, and galena. Fishing along coasts. Ice-free ports
Tsingtao (Kiaochow Bay Area)	1914–1922	Military conquest from Germany Returned to China in 1922 by Washington Conference	City and district on southern coast of Shantung Peninsula (approximately midway between Shanghai and Peiping)	About 120	192,000	Foothold on Chinese mainland of Shantung Peninsula	Important port and outlet for Shantung Province
Japanese Mandated Islands (Marianas Is., Caroline Is., Marshall Is., etc.)	1914	Taken from Germany: occupied 1914; allocated by mandate 1922	Micronesia—directly east of Philippine Islands, 700 to 3300 miles	829	124,000	Basis of "Defense in Depth" in Western Pacific to southeast of Japan, between equator and tropic of Cancer	Limited sources of tropical products, as sugar, pineapples, and copra. Also phosphate
Manchuria (Widely known as "Manchukuo")	1931–1932	Formation of puppet government	Northeast of China Proper Southwest of Maritime Siberia	503,013	36,933,000	Huge base against Soviet Union in the Far East	Large agricultural reservoir Source of raw materials, especially favorable to the iron-and-steel industries
Jehol	1933	Annexed to Manchukuo	Between Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia	Indefinite	Indefinite	Japanese spearhead in North China	Moderate source of agricultural products, including opium
North China (Provinces of Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Chahar, and Suiyuan)	1933–1937	Consistent political and economic penetration	Northeastern part of China Proper	Indefinite	Indefinite	Initial stages of military penetration into China Proper	Source of raw materials, i.e., coal, wheat, etc.

British, and French companies, engaging several Americans as airplane instructors. Finally, the Chinese had engaged foreign experts and had bought military supplies from several countries.

On January 21, 1936, Koki Hirota, foreign minister of Japan, summarized his famous "three principles" before the Diet. They were as follows: First, China's "active and effective collaboration with Japan" in order to achieve a "basic readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations"; second, Chinese recognition of Manchukuo as "the first step to a complete and final adjustment of the relations between Japan, Manchukuo and China"; and third, Chinese co-operation with Japan in the "eradication of Communism."

After the armed mutiny of an army unit in Tokyo on February 26, Mr. Hirota became premier of Japan, Mr. Arita, foreign minister, and Shigene Kamagoe, ambassador to China. The Japanese ambassador and the Chinese foreign minister Chang Chun began negotiations for the settlement of the issues between Tokyo and Nanking. The Japanese demanded recognition of the autonomy of the five northern provinces, co-operation along economic lines, especially tariffs, suppression of anti-Japanese propaganda, joint action against Communism, recognition of Manchukuo, and the establishment of a Sino-Japanese air service. The Chinese demanded the evacuation of Hopei and Chahar by Japanese troops, the abolition of the North China demilitarized zones, the end of the puppet regime of Yin Ju-keng in East Hopei, the termination of troop maneuvers in North China, the end of Japanese-sponsored smuggling, and the termination of the Nipponese effort to destroy the political unity and economic stability of China. A sense of humor was inserted by the Chinese offer to aid the Japanese in destroying Communism in Manchukuo. The

kidnapping of General Chiang Kai-shek at Sian on December 12, 1936, by Chang Hsueh-liang, strengthened Chinese resistance to Japanese demands. A united front of the Communists and the Kuomintang was formed against Japan.

On the night of July 7, 1937, the "Incident" occurred which started the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Japanese were conducting maneuvers in the vicinity of Lukouchiao. They assert that they were attacked without provocation by Chinese troops. However, the Chinese have a different version. They state that on the pretext of a missing soldier the Japanese demanded permission to enter and search the town of Wam'ping near Lukouchiao. Since the Chinese magistrate refused, the town was attacked. Anyway, the Incident occurred at the "right time" and the "right place." Lukouchiao is a strategic point that controls all the railroad entries to Peiping from the south. In addition, the local Japanese leaders had decided that the time had come to seize North China because of the vacillating attitude of General Sung and the growing strength of Chiang Kai-shek. However, it is unlikely that the Government in Tokyo deliberately planned the Lukouchiao Incident. The exact details of the events at the Marco Polo Bridge on the night of July 7 will probably never be known. The diplomatic issues involved in the "Incident" at the bridge were threefold. First, the Japanese asserted that the sending of Nanking troops to the south border of Hopei was a violation of the Ho-Umetsu agreement of 1935. Probably this agreement did not contain a binding pledge never to send Chinese Nationalist troops to this area. The second diplomatic issue lay in the Japanese determination to negotiate only with the local Hopei-Chahar Political Council, while the Nanking Government maintained that the latter had no power to make political com-

mitments. The third issue centered around the right of Japanese troops to maneuver in this region in accordance with the Boxer Protocol. The Japanese had never received a legal right to carry on maneuvers near the Marco Polo Bridge.

The war in China may be divided into two main phases up to the present date. From July, 1937, to October, 1938, the conflict was a struggle of movement. North China, with the cities of Tientsin and Peiping, quickly fell into Japanese hands. After bitter fighting in Shanghai, reminiscent of the combat of 1932, the Chinese were forced to withdraw in November. Only a month later Nanking fell, marking the low ebb in Chinese morale and distinguishing the Japanese for sheer brutality. Only a Chinese victory at Taierhchuang in April reinforced Chinese morale. In October, 1938, Canton and Hankow were almost simultaneously occupied by the Nipponese. However, they failed to surround and crush the organized Chinese armies. From October, 1938, to the present the warfare between China and Japan has been guerrilla and mobile. Guerrillas, who are independently organized, have wrought havoc with Japanese outposts. Mobile troops move swiftly and attack quickly. The Eighth Route Army represents the highest development of the mobile type of fighting. This army operates in Hopei, Shansi, Suiyuan, Chahar, Shantung, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. The Japanese have completed the capture of Nanning in South China, but they have failed to seize Chungking.

The Nipponese strategy of conquest envisioned a period of great offensives with the capture of the key cities, the coastal areas, the waterways, the railroads, and the main Chinese bases. The second step included a period of military consolidation with the stabilization of a frontier of conquest. By 1940 considerable progress had been made in

the fulfillment of this step. The third stage pictured a period of pacification by the annihilation of mobile and guerrilla units. The main efforts of the Japanese in China are directed toward this goal. The Japanese military action as well as the political control over the conquered areas of China followed the lines of communications. In North China the military lines paralleled the railroads which extend from Peiping through Inner Mongolia to Suiyuan, through Hopei and Honan toward Hankow, and through Hopei, Shantung, and Anhwei to Nanking, while secondary military lines paralleled the route from north Shansi, through Taiyuan, thence west into Shensi, and the route from Taiyuan east to Shihchiachwang to Tsinan and Tsingtao. In the Yangtze Valley the Japanese lines follow the route from north to south by the Peiping-Hankow railroad and the Tientsin-Pukow railroad, and from west to east by the Yangtze River and the railroad from Nanchang to Hangchow.

The total area of Free China is one and a half million square miles. This includes three fourths of all China exclusive of Manchukuo, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. The population of Free China is about 216 million. In the area are located limited reserves of coal and iron, and supplies of manganese, copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, antimony, and tin. The area is practically self-sufficient in foodstuffs. However, the city of Osaka has more modern industry than all of Free China. Free China includes the Southeast provinces of Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, and Kiangsi, the Southwest provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Hunan, Szechwan, Sikang, and the Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and the co-operating areas of Sinkiang. On the other hand, the Japanese have one third of China — Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia, and North China, and 650,000 square miles of China

proper, not all of which is really conquered. This Japanese area includes the largest cities, the seaports, the industrial areas, and many of the universities.

Several important supply routes have entered into the complicated picture of maintaining Free China. Until October, 1938, many imports went to China by the railroad from Canton to Hankow. After Munich the Japanese lost their fears of British opposition to the capture of Canton. Another route extended by railroad from Haiphong, French Indo-China, to Hanoi, and thence largely by road to Nanning or by railroad to Kunming. The Japanese captured Nanning, frequently bombed Kunming, and gradually closed the door of Indo-China for supplies to China. Another important route was the Burma Road. A railroad ran from Rangoon almost to the border of China, where a road wound through mountainous regions to Kunming and Chungking. The road was built by Chinese labor, using the tools of the pyramid-builders of Gizeh. A fourth route winds by road alone from Chungking, northwest to Lanchow, on to Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, across the Chinese border to the Turksib Railroad of the U.S.S.R. All these routes together, however, did not carry the volume of goods of the Hankow-Canton Railroad in 1938. The Japanese land attack on the Burma Road has led to the intensification of the construction of a new road from Chungking through Assam to the Indian Ocean.

After Munich in Europe and the fall of Hankow and Canton in East Asia, Prince Konoye in an official statement of Japanese policy on November 3, 1938, the occasion of the anniversary of the Meiji Emperor, stated:

"What Japan seeks is the establishment of a new order which will insure the per-

manent stability of East Asia. . . . This new order has for its foundation a tripartite relationship of mutual aid and coördination between Japan, Manchukuo and China in political, economic, cultural, and other fields. Its object is to secure international justice, to perfect the joint defense against Communism, and to create a new culture and realize a close economic cohesion throughout East Asia. . . . What Japan desires of China is that that country will share in the task of bringing about this new order in East Asia. She confidently expects that the people of China will fully comprehend her true intentions and that they will respond to the call of Japan for their cooperation. . . . Japan is confident that other Powers will on their part correctly appreciate her aims and policy and adapt their attitude to the new conditions prevailing in East Asia."

The Monroe Doctrine of Japan had become the New Order of East Asia.

The philosophical background of the New Order is found in the mythology of the Japanese. They assert that they are a chosen, superior people who are governed by a divine ruler, the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess. Consequently the Japanese have a divine mission to perform. "Kodo," or the "Imperial Way," was given currency after 1931. It stresses the divine nature of the ruling house, while Shinto mythology is intertwined. Kodo is also a code of ethics reinforced by bushido, or the code of the medieval samurai. Japan is divinely commissioned to confer a superior way of life on a benighted world. Dr. Inazo Nitobi is the Japanese authority on bushido. The most prolific source for bushido is the teachings of Confucius on rectitude, courage, politeness, honor, and loyalty. On the other hand, some Chinese maintain that bushido is an invention to glorify the Emperor, while they claim that no such "samu-

rai code" ever existed. Another philosophical term familiar to the Japanese is Hakko Ichiu or "The World as One Family." This also asserts the divine mission of Japan with each nation in its "proper place" for the establishment of permanent world peace. The ideas of an "immutable policy," of "Japan's leadership," and of "peace and order" constantly appear in the assertions of the Japanese. In 1905, Seiji Hishida remarked that the civilized nations should have "faith in Japan's leadership in helping China." In 1897, Count Okuma in a speech stated that the foreign policy of his country should be "fixed" and "immutable." Hiroshi Saito has written that Japan's "genuine aims" were the establishment of "peace and order." The New Order is also philosophically based on the rule of a few master states which are culturally advanced and efficiently organized. The Japanese think that they are especially prepared for this role in East Asia. On the other hand, the Japanese propagandists resent the "arrogance" of the white race, while they demand equality with the peoples of the West.

The New Order is a cloak under which the Japanese conceal their efforts to dominate the whole Western Pacific politically, economically, and culturally. It will be applied just as far as the Japanese militarists can push it. Probably the radius extends from Lake Baikal to India and New Zealand. However, the New Order was localized in North China at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict. As an example of the New Order in practice, though not in name, over a period of time, the pattern of political development and political control may be well illustrated in Manchuria. The Manchukuo Government testifies: "There was an old Manchuria of bandit war lords, misrule, persecution, and anti-foreignism where professional agitators fostered among

the ignorant masses the doctrine of 'hatred.' That is gone. Today in its place there is a new Manchuria, freed of military tyranny and political corruption, where all races work and live in brotherly harmony under the benevolent rule of 'Wangtao.' This, indeed, is moving, breathing, and growing every hour." In Manchuria Japan first revealed her use of a puppet government. It is used to destroy foreign rights that stand in the way of Japanese expansion as well as to uphold the fiction that Tokyo seeks no territorial advantages.

After the rapid collapse of Chinese political organization in Manchuria, the Japanese set up a "self-government guiding board" of Chinese membership in Mukden and later a "supreme administrative council" of Chinese who issued a declaration of independence on February 18, 1932. On March 9, Henry Pu Yi, ex-emperor of China, was inducted into the office of the chief executive of Manchukuo. On March 1, 1934, Pu Yi was formally enthroned as emperor of Manchukuo at Hsinking "in compliance with the will of Heaven" (and the Japanese). At the same time a constitution was promulgated which provided for a Privy Council, a Legislative Council, a State Council, and a prime minister with a Supervisory Council or board of audit. No law has been promulgated for the organization of a Legislative Council. On July 1, 1937, the Supervisory Council, the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the Department of Mongolian Administration were abolished. The conduct of foreign affairs was placed in the hands of the prime minister aided by an "Office of Foreign Affairs" headed by a Japanese. The Japanese dominate the country completely through Boards of General Affairs in the central and provincial governments and through the secretariats in the executive departments. The large number of Japanese officials in Manchukuo are largely respon-

sible to the Japanese ambassador, who is commander of the Kwantung Army and governor of the Kwantung leased territory. Furthermore, the country is under military occupation with several excellent Japanese divisions stationed along the Soviet frontier at recently developed military and air bases. Japan formally recognized Manchukuo by concluding a protocol of alliance on September 15, 1932. In 1935 the Manchukuoan legation was raised to an embassy. In a treaty signed on November 5, 1937, extraterritoriality was abolished, and Japan surrendered administrative authority in the South Manchuria Railway zone.

From Manchukuo the idea of puppet governments spread to North China. Two of the earliest movements were the East Hopei Autonomous Regime, under Yin Ju-keng, which was completely under the control of Japan, and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, under General Sung Cheh-Yuan, which owed nominal allegiance to Nanking, possessed no Chinese national troops or local organs of the Kuomintang, and had a semi-independent status. General Sung survived by a series of "balancing acts" between Tokyo and Nanking, with a "convenient illness" at frequent intervals. However, when the final decision was forced, he supported Chiang Kai-shek. In December, 1937, the Provisional Government of Peiping replaced not only the East Hopei Autonomous Regime but also served as the Hopei-Chahar Political Council "writ large." The Chinese rival of the Provisional Government of Peking is the Border Government of Hopei, Shansi, and Chahar inaugurated in January, 1938. This government has been recognized by Chungking as the legitimate Chinese government of the area.

The relations of the Japanese with their puppet governments in North China reveal the lack of clearly formulated plans. The

Japanese do not allow the puppets sufficient self-respect to function effectively. The conquerors themselves scrap over the control of the sale of opium and narcotics to the Chinese. The Japanese lack the men and money, patience, and political ability to govern the whole area. Furthermore, various Japanese organizations have quarreled over the governing of North China — the Kwantung Army, the army in North China, the South Manchuria Railway, and the Planning Board in Tokyo.

The political chaos existing as a result of the Border regime and the Japanese puppet governments in North China is fantastic. In many areas the Japanese rule by day while the guerrillas rule by night. Peasants dig trenches for the Japanese rulers in the sunshine and fill them in for the Chinese guerrillas in the moonlight. Both the Border and the Peking governments have to face a military front as well as a political and social front. The Japanese through the Provisional Government of Peking have sought to eradicate the influence of the Kuomintang, to conduct a holy crusade against Communism, and to construct an economic bloc of Japan, Manchukuo and, at first, North China. Consequently the Japanese have set up a Hsin Min Hui, or New People's Association, and a Hsin Min Chu I, or New People's Principle. The three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are dismissed because "nationalism" destroys the idea that men are brothers, because "democracy" is impossible in China, and because "livelihood" is too closely associated with Communism. The short-term methods of the Japanese are the arrest of intellectuals, the searching of the schools for propaganda, and the censorship of the press. The long-term methods are the use of education and propaganda through the Hsin Min Hui. The new party has founded a Hsin Min College; the Peking National University has been allowed to open.



On the other hand, the Border Government is doing splendid work for the Chinese peasants with the support of the Eighth Route Army. Most of the rank and file of the guerrilla troops come from the farmers. The Army gets supplies directly from the government and not from the peasants. Popular education is encouraged, rents have been reduced 25 per cent, and taxes have been regularized.

On September 22, 1938, a United Council of China was established to link the Peking and Nanking puppet governments of China. The Peking Government had long cherished the desire to rule over all China, although it had no legal or constitutional basis, no government powers, or even recognition from Tokyo. In the negotiations between the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei, the former insisted on staying firmly entrenched in North China. The only changes the Provisional Government at Peking accepted were the one national flag and the Kuomintang as Wang defined it. In March, 1940, the name Provisional Government of Peking was changed to the North China Political Council, nominally under the Reorganized National Government of China under Wang Ching-wei. To all practical purposes the North China Political Council is "an integral part" of the Japanese Empire.

In Mongolia not only the Japanese but also the Russians have shown an interest in puppet governments. Outer Mongolia under Russian control is separated from Inner Mongolia under Japanese control by the Gobi. As long as Outer Mongolia is under Russian influence, the Soviets can use it as a corridor to strike at western Manchukuo, threatening the Japanese in the northern part of the puppet state. On the other hand, the Japanese possession of Outer Mongolia would serve as a flank against the Siberian frontier, even menacing the new iron and steel works in Central Siberia. Prince Teh,

with Japanese support, has been influential in the movement toward an autonomous Inner Mongolia consisting of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ninghsia. On October 29, 1937, a so-called National Assembly of Mongol princes with Kwantung approval proclaimed the Federal Autonomous Government of Mongolia. Japan now controls Chahar, Suiyuan, and most of Ninghsia. In the eastern part of this area coal and iron are mined, and in the western part wool is produced. A great distinction exists between the Japanese and Soviet roles in Inner and Outer Mongolia. Russian troops left Outer Mongolia in 1924, while Japanese troops still control Inner Mongolia. The Soviets treat the Mongol People's Republic as independent while recognizing the general sovereignty of China. The Japanese do not recognize the sovereignty of China in Inner Mongolia, nor do they give Prince Teh the authority that the rulers of the Mongol People's Republic enjoy. Finally, Inner Mongolia would not survive without Japanese troops, while Outer Mongolia stands without Soviet forces.

On March 28, 1938, the Reformed Government of Central China was organized at Nanking. The Japanese gave the occasion all the pomp and circumstance of reality, firecrackers, a new "national anthem," a big parade, and an inaugural ceremony. The new puppets left their Shanghai dwelling for one day to be present at the speech-making. The personnel of the puppet government was revealing: the titular head emerged from his retirement of 1924, where he had been associated with the Anfu regime; the minister of justice was the father of Maria Wendt, who is serving a prison term in the United States for opium smuggling; the finance minister retired in 1916 over difficulties in embezzlement charges; the first minister of foreign affairs had been a pro-Japanese delegate at the League of Nations.

The areas under the control of the Reformed Government followed the Yangtze River, the railroad lines, a few highways usually outside the cities, and a fraction of the canals of central China. The activities of the Japanese army made popular approval impossible. However, many of the Chinese were turned toward passive acceptance of the regime because of their economic needs, the traditional acceptance of authority, and the defenselessness of the cities. The Japanese exercise their control through soldiers, sailors, and police. The men of the Pacification Squads are human subdivisions of the Special Service Departments. The public security of the people is below the pre-war level. Police raids, torture, detention without trial, and spying are a part of the day's business of the Japanese. The law is administered on four levels — the Japanese military officials, the Japanese civilians, the Chinese puppets, and the masses of the people. Although there is a partial replacement of the health services before the invasion, higher education is ignored. Meanwhile, in the Japanese-sponsored Municipality of Greater Shanghai, the Ta Tao Government performed the useful functions of a puppet.

The Japanese gradually became interested in the consolidation of their puppet regimes — the Reformed Government of Central China, the Provincial Government of Peking, the Ta Tao Government of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, and the Federal Autonomous Government of Inner Mongolia. Two prominent Chinese were considered for the position of heading an all-China administration — Wu Pei-fu and Wang Ching-wei. Marshal Wu Pei-fu, the aged leader of the former Chihli Party, was a conservative and a traditionalist. He lived a simple life of poverty with no illusions about worldly grandeur. Toward the end of his existence the Marshal became a Bud-

dhist. The Japanese entered into long negotiations with Wu, but the results were usually the same — it was premature to say that he had emerged from "retirement." Wu's price of acceptance of the leadership of a new regime consisted of conditions which would reduce, if not eliminate, Japanese influence and control. His two conditions are supposed to have been, first, the retirement of all Japanese troops, and second, the approval by Chiang Kai-shek of his appointment. Even after all the coast line of China was occupied, he insisted upon autonomous control of the army, foreign affairs, and finance. The Marshal's death in December, 1939, led to Chinese suspicions of poison, but the Japanese asserted that his death was a loss for Tokyo.

Wang Ching-wei was the other Chinese leader who became available material. He was an extraordinary person; he had always lived dangerously; he never lacked courage; his services could not be bought. Wang had been one of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's close associates, even the author of the famous Will. He had been an important member of the Kuomintang as well as premier and foreign minister of the country. On November 1, 1935, Wang was shot by a Chinese reporter as a protest against the Nanking policy of non-resistance to Japanese aggression. When the Sino-Japanese conflict broke out, he had urged complete support of Chiang. However, Wang gradually became alienated from the Generalissimo. The former desired to become again premier of the republic, to remove Chiang Kai-shek from power, and eliminate "Red" influence in the affairs of the state. Meanwhile, Wang was in contact with the Japanese through the Italian consulate. Since Prince Konoye, in January, 1938, had stated that Japan would no longer treat with the "Chiang Kai-shek regime," no direct negotiations ensued between the two governments after the fall of

Hankow. However, Wang tried to persuade his colleagues at Chungking to surrender. When these efforts failed he fled to French Indo-China, where he supported the December peace terms of Premier Kono, calling them a "fair basis" for peace talks. Indeed, in January, 1940, he called them principles of "equality and reciprocity." On his way to the French colony, Wang tried to convert the governor of Yunnan to a peace policy with Japan, telling him that Chiang believed peace with Nippon was acceptable provided China was not destroyed. Chiang promptly reassured the governor of Yunnan that peace was impossible on Japan's terms.

The negotiations between Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese were long and complicated. The Japanese asserted that his motives were his deep-rooted apprehension of the economic collapse of China and his anti-Communist attitude. They proudly boasted that Wang realized that the war with China must end inevitably in a defeat for the Chinese and that he considered the peace terms as "reasonable and acceptable." During the negotiations Wang was deserted by two of his chief supporters, Kao Tsung-wu and Tao Hsi-sheng, who fled to Hong Kong with what they claimed to be the text of an agreement between Wang and Japan signed on December 30, 1939, along with a Japanese note to Wang in August, 1939. The reported agreement included the recognition of Manchukuo, a Japanese-Manchukuo-Chinese anti-Communist alliance, Japanese withdrawal of troops from central and southern China within two years when "the new government demonstrates its ability to maintain peace and order," permanent Japanese garrisons in North China and Inner Mongolia, joint government of Inner Mongolia, "joint Chinese-Japanese co-operation" in the development of Chinese industry and resources,

Japanese supervision of Chinese customs, the location of Nanking as the seat of government with the same Nationalist flag, and the association of local regimes in the new central political council. Chen Chun-po, Chief of Wang's secretariat, promptly said that the terms were not those finally agreed upon. At a Tsingtao Conference with representatives of the Peiping, Nanking, and Inner Mongolian regimes, Wang made arrangements for the inauguration of the new Central Government of China.

After the conference Wang traveled from Shanghai to Nanking on a steamer, surrounded by five Japanese gunboats. Fearful of the accuracy of Chinese snipers, he stood below deck. On March 20 Wang "wept and prayed" at the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese republic. On March 30, 1940, he was inaugurated as the successor of Dr. Sun and the head of the "real" Kuomintang party of China. Through the windows of the ceremonial hall swept a light rain and wind, symbolic of the new regime. The Provisional Government of Peking became the North China Political Affairs Commission, retaining control over Hopei, Shantung, and Shansi, while the Nanking Reformed Government was absorbed into Wang's regime. The puppet's platform proclaimed policies of good neighborliness for the "establishment of permanent peace and a new order in East Asia," respect for "legitimate rights" of foreign powers, union of friendly states to counteract the "subversive, peace-disturbing elements of the Communist International," the "pacification" of Chinese guerrilla troops, the forming of a "national" army to "destroy military dictatorship," reform of the economic system, and elimination of the "misleading tendencies" in the Chinese educational system.

Wang stated that Nanking would replace Chungking as the capital of China and that

the old Kuomintang flag would be re-adopted. The Government promptly passed resolutions to liquidate the Chungking government, to order their forces to cease hostilities, to require all civil servants of Chiang Kai-shek to return to Nanking for duty, and to invalidate the laws and decrees of Chungking. Since Wang was in theory the successor of the Government founded on the principles of Sun Yat-sen, and since in theory he was only acting for President Lin Sen, pending his return to Nanking, even Japan did not feel obliged to recognize the new government at first.

The reaction of Washington to the new regime was quick and to the point. Secretary Hull stated: "In the light of what has happened in various parts of China since 1931, the setting up of a new regime at Nanking has the appearance of a further step in a program of one country by armed force to impose its will upon a neighboring country and to block off a large area of the world from normal political and economic relationships with the rest of the world. . . ." The Chinese Embassy in Washington said: "It is nothing more than a puppet organization created and controlled by the Japanese militarists as an instrument for usurping China's sovereign rights and destroying her independence and territorial and administrative integrity. It will also be used by the Japanese to overthrow international law and order, to nullify the Nine-power treaty, and to eliminate all commerce and interests of the third powers in China." Chungking announced: "Fighting will cease only when the last Japanese soldier has withdrawn or been driven from Chinese soil." Likewise an order was issued for the arrest and execution of Wang Ching-wei.

On November 30, 1940, Japan entered into formal treaty relations with its puppet in Nanking. General Abe for Japan and Wang for China signed four documents:

a treaty of basic relations, a supplementary political understanding, a joint political declaration, and a protocol covering military arrangements. The treaty provided for co-operation in the establishment of the New Order on an ethical basis, joint action against Communism, stationing of Japanese troops in Inner Mongolia and North China, special Japanese rights over Chinese natural resources, particularly the minerals of North China and Inner Mongolia, the destruction of hostile propaganda, rationalization of the economic supply and demand of the two countries, and abolishment in the future of extraterritoriality and concessions in exchange for Japan's rights of residence and trade in the whole of China. The protocol gave the Japanese the right to take whatever measures were necessary to continue the hostilities and it promised the evacuation of all but Inner Mongolia and North China within two years after the restoration of complete peace. . . . The joint declaration was a Japan-Manchukuo-China statement of joint defense against Communism, complete economic co-operation, and joint recognition of each other's territory and sovereignty. The supplementary understanding restored to Wang the nominal management of mines, industries, and commercial establishments in the hands of the Japanese army; it granted him the power to collect taxes; it recognized tariff autonomy with the proviso of Japanese advisers for the duration of the China Affair; and it revised contracts for joint Sino-Japanese enterprises so as to give an added share to the Chinese.

The reactions to the new Japanese step were quick. Chungking offered \$100,000 in Chinese money for the head of Wang "for usurping the presidency and signing with the enemy a treaty detrimental to China's sovereignty." The United States extended another credit to China through the Export-

Import Bank, while Secretary Hull asserted that his statement of March 30 still stood. Even Germany and Italy did not extend recognition until the next summer. Eventually Wang declared war on the United States and Great Britain.

The transition from the idea of a New Order in East Asia to a New Order in a Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere was largely due to events on the international stage outside the Far East. As in the Nineteenth Century, Europe's conflicts were America's opportunities, so in the Twentieth Century Europe's wars were Japan's opportunities. Japanese consolidation in North China coincided with the bitter warfare in Spain. Nipponese cruisers were sent into the Gulf of Tongking to shell the southeast coast of China while Hitler moved into Austria. The diplomatic defeat of the democracies at Munich led to the occupation of Hainan and the capture of Canton in the Far East. The Nazi occupation of Praha was accompanied by Japanese seizure of the Spratley Islands. The fall of France led to the eventual occupation of Indo-China. The political expansion of the Japanese in the South Pacific was preceded by economic expansion, heralded by speeches in Tokyo, and followed by military occupation. The political methods have followed two general forms: the support of established governments that are favorable to Tokyo, as in the case of French Indo-China and Thailand, and the support of prominent puppets, as in the attempted control of Burma and the Philippines.

Just as the army has been especially interested in a continental policy on the Asiatic mainland, the navy has been primarily interested in the construction of an empire in the South Pacific. As Lieutenant Commander Tota Ishimaru states: "But for all its importance, Manchuria alone is not enough: with it alone Japan cannot go on.

. . . We must not forget that our future prosperity lies on the sea."<sup>5</sup> The Japanese Government has officially adhered until recently to the thesis that the peaceful promotion of commerce was its sole interest in the South Pacific. However, Tota Ishimaru has very frankly said: "England is already on the downgrade; Japan has started on the upgrade. . . . Territorial possession and natural resources England has in abundance; she can afford to relinquish some. Japan has neither, and to her they are a matter of life and death."<sup>6</sup> The book was officially repudiated by the Japanese Government, but the publicity given to the southward advance led to uneasiness among the nations of the status quo in the South Pacific. This uneasiness was well reflected in the construction of the Singapore naval base, the largest in the world. The Japanese have considered the construction of a Singapore base as directed against themselves. However, the practical results of the Washington Conference were to give Japan command of the seas in the western Pacific as far south as "perhaps" the equator, while the British maintained their sea supremacy from the East Atlantic, through the Mediterranean, to the Indies and Australia.

With the growing seriousness of the situation in Europe, Japanese spokesmen began to speak officially of their interests in the South Seas. Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita, in a speech before the Diet on February 21, 1940, several months before the fall of France, asserted: "With regard to the South Sea regions, the Japanese Government are desirous of maintaining with them a relationship of coexistence and co-prosperity through economic co-operation and collaboration in the development of natural

<sup>5</sup>Lt. Comdr. Tota Ishimaru, *Japan Must Fight Britain* (New York, 1936), 319.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 319.

resources. We intend to put forth every effort along this line towards enhancing the existing close relations between Japan and those regions." In this statement the foreign minister used the phrase "coexistence and co-prosperity," which was destined to become associated with the area of Greater East Asia within a few months. Exactly what Mr. Arita meant by "South Sea regions" is also open to considerable latitude.

The term "South Sea regions" is usually applied to the Oceanic Islands scattered in the tropical and semi-tropical belt from New Guinea and the Japanese mandate eastward to Hawaii, the French Establishments, and Easter Island, or from 130° East Longitude to 110° West Longitude. They may be classified as Micronesia (the Carolines, Marianas, Marshalls, Guam, Nauru, and Gilberts), Melanesia (New Guinea, the Solomons, New Hebrides, Fijis, and New Caledonia), and Polynesia (Hawaii, Phoenixes, Ellices, Samoa, Marquesas, Pitcairn, Easter, Society, Cooks, Tonga, and New Zealand). The area covers one eighth of the earth's surface, although only 891,000 square miles are land surface. The 2,500,000 people live in eight different jurisdictions under eight nations — Australia, Chile, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States.

Japan continued her political expansion southward by the occupation of Hainan on February 10, 1939. This island lies across the shipping lanes from Hong Kong to Singapore, commanding one half of the coast of Indo-China. On March 31, 1939, the Spratley Islands were annexed to Japan. These "Isles of the Tempest" were also claimed by the Philippines. The islands possess the strategic value of straddling the sea lanes of the South China Sea and of providing usable bases for seaplanes.

The growing seriousness of the situation in Europe, especially after the Nazi invasion

of Scandinavia, led to a series of statements by Mr. Arita and Mr. Hull on the status of the Netherlands Indies. On April 15, 1940, Mr. Arita told the Japanese press: "Should the hostilities in Europe be extended to the Netherlands and produce repercussions, as you say, in the Netherlands Indies it would not only interfere with the maintenance and furtherance of the above-mentioned relations of economic interdependence and of coexistence and common prosperity, but also give rise to an undesirable situation from the standpoint of the peace and stability in East Asia. In view of these considerations, the Japanese Government cannot but be deeply concerned over any development, accompanying the aggravation of the war in Europe, that may affect the status quo of the Netherlands Indies." Secretary Hull in two days told the American press that "Intervention in the domestic affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration of their status quo by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stability, peace and security not only in the region of the Netherlands Indies but in the entire Pacific area." At about the same time the Netherlands informed Japan that it had not sought and would not seek in the future any country's protection of the Netherlands Indies, and that it would refuse any offer of protection or intervention made by any country. After the Nazi invasion of the Netherlands, the Japanese urged the Dutch to maintain the status quo in the Netherlands Indies, while Secretary Hull reiterated his statement of April 17. On May 22, the German ambassador, General Eugen Ott, called on foreign minister Arita and informed him that Germany was not interested in the problem of the Netherlands Indies.

With the fall of France and the danger to Britain the Japanese became more bold.



On June 29, 1940, Foreign Minister Arita said in a broadcast:

"The countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially and economically very closely related to each other. They are destined to co-operate and minister to one another's needs for their common well-being and prosperity, and to promote the peace and progress in their regions. The uniting of all these regions under a single sphere on the basis of common existence and the insuring thereby of the stability of that sphere is, I think, a natural conclusion. . . . I desire to declare that the destiny of those regions — any development therein, and any disposal thereof — is a matter of general concern to Japan in view of her mission and responsibility as the stabilizing force in East Asia."

In the year 1940 the Japanese celebrated the 2600th anniversary of the Imperial House. On July 22 Prince Fumimaro Konoye became premier of Japan in a cabinet which stressed the formation of a "New Structure" in domestic affairs and a "co-prosperity sphere of Greater East Asia" in foreign affairs. On August 1, 1940, Prince Konoye made his famous announcement of a new order in Greater East Asia:

"The basic aim of Japan's policy lies in the firm establishment of world peace in accordance with the lofty spirit of 'Hakko Ichiu' ['The World as One Family'], in which the nation was founded, and in the construction, as the first step, of a new order in Greater East Asia, resting upon the solidarity of Japan, Manchukuo and China. . . . Japan's foreign policy, which aims ultimately at the construction of a new order in Greater East Asia, will be directed, first of all, toward a complete settlement of the China affair, and to the advancement of the

national fortune by taking a farsighted view of the drastic changes in the international situation and by formulating both constructive and flexible measures to meet these changes."

On the same day foreign minister Matsuoka stated:

"I have always said that the mission of Japan is to proclaim and demonstrate 'kodo' ['the Imperial Way'] throughout the world. Viewed from the standpoint of international relations, this amounts, I think, to enabling all nations and races to find each its proper place in the world. Accordingly the immediate aim of any foreign policy at present is to establish, in accordance with the lofty spirit of kodo, a great East Asian chain of common prosperity with the Japan-Manchukuo-China group as one of the links. . . ."

To Matsuoka goes the credit for coining the phrase "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." However, the Japanese did not attempt to define the areas of the Greater East Asia. The very next day Yakichico Suna, spokesman of the foreign office, asserted that he had to postpone the "enumeration of the areas to a later date." Hugh Byas, correspondent of the *New York Times* in Tokyo, reported on August 3 that the New Order had become continental and oceanic, with the world divided into four super-states, according to the Japanese — Pan America, the Soviet bloc, Pan Europe and the Japanese sphere. In November, Admiral Takahashi, former commander of the Japanese fleet, wrote that Greater East Asia extended from Manchukuo to Australia and India. The area included Manchukuo, China, Indo-China, Burma, the Straits Settlements, the Netherlands Indies, New Caledonia, New Guinea, the Philippines, the

Japanese mandated islands, and many other islands of the western Pacific. Australia and the rest of the East Indies would be eventually added "in proportion to Japan's national strength." As the admiral modestly asserted: "The greater our strength the larger will be the sphere of Greater East Asia." In the same month a South Seas Affairs bureau was added to the Foreign Office of Japan. This new bureau was divided into two sections: the first, the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, British Oceania, and the Antarctic; the second, Thailand, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, North Borneo, and French Oceania. In January, 1941, Matsuoka asserted in a speech that "in fifty years the world will know the aim of the Japanese is not a mere vision." Toward the end of February, Matsuoka informed the Diet that he believed the "white race must cede Oceania to the Asiatics," since the region had "sufficient resources to support from 600 million to 800 million people." He referred in particular to sparsely settled areas like New Guinea.

Meanwhile the Three-Power Pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan had been signed on September 27, 1940, recognizing the "leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe" and "the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia," and promising to "assist one another with all political, economic, and military means if one of the Contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." In order to enhance the sacredness of the pact, an Imperial Rescript from the Emperor was given on September 27: "We fervently hope that the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace will be realized as quickly as possible. Accordingly we commanded Our Government

to deliberate on the matter of mutual assistance and co-operation with Germany and Italy, which share in the views and objectives of Our Empire. We are deeply gratified that a Pact has been concluded between these three Powers."

The New Order in Greater East Asia was rapidly drawing French Indo-China and Thailand into its orbit. French Indo-China, an area a third larger than France, is bounded by China, the Gulf of Tonking, the China Sea, the Gulf of Siam, and Thailand. Its population consists of 23,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 41,000 are French and 1,000 are other Europeans. The five largest cities are Saigon, Hanoi, Haiphong, Pnompenh, and Namdinh, and the naval bases are Saigon and Camranh. After the fall of France the Japanese secured from the republic the prohibition of exports from Indo-China to the Chinese Government, with the permission to send "Japanese inspectors for the purpose of making investigations of actual conditions on the spot." By July 4, 1940, five key points on the roads and railroads leading into China from French territory were occupied by Japanese "inspectors." On August 30, an exchange of notes provided for the "closure of the border between French Indo-China itself and the entry, by agreement, of Japanese armed forces into the colony." A military mission was sent to Hanoi to arrange for air bases and the passage of Japanese troops into southwestern China. The Hanoi Convention of September 22, 1940, covered the immediate issues between France and Japan, while Vichy and Tokyo were to negotiate subsequent details. The Convention included a Japanese assertion of respecting French sovereignty in Indo-China, of observing the territorial integrity of the area and of respecting French rights and interests in the Far East, while France consented to the placing of military facilities at the disposal of

the Japanese and of recognizing the dominant political and economic interests of Japan in the Far East. General Smita visited Saigon to study problems of local unrest, while Japanese naval commanders took charge of French naval bases in northern Indo-China. The Japanese and French in Tokyo made new barter arrangements with the downward revision of Indo-China's tariffs. The Third Republic lost its favored position in the economic set-up of the colony.

The scene now shifted to the operative war between Thailand and Indo-China. As the only independent state in southeastern Asia, Siam occupied a pivotal position in international rivalry. Owing its independence to the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, the kingdom has long been under the economic influence of Great Britain. The Thai people not only live in Siam, but many of them reside also in Indo-China, Burma, the Shan States, and parts of southwestern China. Thai irredentism is one of the reasons for co-operation with Japan. Since the abdication of King Prajadhipok and the dictatorship of the People's Party, a new Siamese political organization in which young army and navy officials play an important role, Japanese influence has increased in the country. Nipponese exports to Siam rose from 8,000,000 yen in 1932 to 43,000,000 yen in 1936. Thai naval cadets were sent to Tokyo for training; Thai orders for warships were divided between Italy and Japan; Siam refused to censure Japan at the League Assembly on Manchukuo. Rumors of a Kra Canal across the narrow Isthmus of Kra under Japanese influence have been prevalent. In June, 1940, Japan and Thailand signed a treaty providing for consultation on common interests and respect for each other's territorial integrity.

The Thais took advantage of the collapse

of France to revive their demands for the return of Siamese territory, seized by the French. After hostilities broke out, the Japanese, in December, 1940, informally proposed mediation to France. On January 30, 1941, the Japanese Government made a formal proposal of mediation, conditional upon an immediate cessation of fighting. An armistice of two weeks duration was signed on February 1, 1941, which was twice extended. A conference was held in Tokyo which finally resulted in an agreement between France and Thailand on March 11, with the formal signing of the peace treaty on May 9. This was the first instance of Japan's adjusting disputes in the new Greater East Asia. The agreement provided for the cession of 21,750 square miles in Laos and Cambodia to Thailand, with equal treatment of Indo-Chinese nationals, and for demilitarized zones in the ceded areas. An exchange of letters made Japan the guarantor of the execution of the agreement and included "the intention of Thailand and Indo-China not to conclude with third powers any political, economic, or military agreement against Japan."

On July 29, 1941, Vice Premier Admiral Jean Darlan and Japanese ambassador Sotomatsu Kato signed at Vichy a far-reaching agreement on Indo-China, engaging themselves "to co-operate militarily for the common defense of French Indo-China," to take measures in view of this co-operation by "special arrangements," and to maintain the "present dispositions" so long as "the circumstances which caused their adoption continue." Before the agreement was announced Japanese occupation of the new bases was under way, especially Camranh on the east coast of Indo-China within air-plane range of Singapore. At least 40,000 Japanese troops were to be stationed at eight air bases and five garrison ports. The American reaction was swift. President

Roosevelt froze Japanese assets in the United States on July 25, along with Chinese assets, at the request of Chiang Kai-shek, because of the Japanese control of many important centers in China. The British Government on July 25 took parallel action, and on the next day announced its intention of denouncing the Anglo-Japanese treaty of commerce of 1911, the India-Japan commercial agreement of 1934, and the Burma-Japan commercial agreement of 1937. The dominions of the Commonwealth-Empire quickly followed suit in freezing Japanese funds. On July 28, the Government of the Netherlands Indies suspended its oil agreement with Japan, under which 1,800,000 tons of oil a year were shipped to Nippon, and at the same time placed all monetary and commercial dealings with Japan on a special permit basis.

Meanwhile Japanese pressure on Thailand increased. An economic agreement was signed by which Thailand would extend \$3,600,000 to finance Japanese trade with the kingdom. In early August Thailand recognized Manchukuo, while the respective legations of Japan and Thailand were raised to embassies. Anthony Eden, British foreign minister, said in Parliament on August 6 that Japanese intervention in Thailand would "give rise to a most serious situation between Great Britain and Japan." Secretary Hull also remarked that the United States was becoming "increasingly concerned" over the situation in Siam. However, Thailand was not playing the part of a "Japanese power." She frequently asserted that her foreign policy depended upon complete independence, equal friendship with all nations, and unrestricted foreign trade.

Through the late summer of 1941 the crisis between the United States and Japan was growing more and more acute. Trade between the two countries was practically stopped, with the freezing of assets on both

sides of the Pacific; the tariff on crabmeat from Nippon was raised from 15 to 22½ per cent ad valorem; high-octane gasoline was being shipped to Vladivostok from the United States; General Douglas MacArthur was placed in command of the Filipino and American forces in the Philippines. In fact, the President had stated on July 24 that if the United States had cut off aid to Japan in the past, the Japanese "would probably have gone down to the Dutch East Indies a year ago, and you would have had war."

On July 28, 1941, Prince Konoye changed his cabinet, excluding foreign minister Matsuoka, who had not only negotiated the Three-Power Pact but also the Russo-Japanese neutrality pact. The outbreak of war between Germany and Russia on June 22, 1941, had placed Matsuoka in an embarrassing position. On October 18, General Hideki Tojo assumed the premiership of Japan as well as the war portfolio, while Shigenori Hojo became minister of foreign affairs. In a statement the new premier asserted that "The national policy calls for a successful settlement of the China Incident and the establishment of the Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere as a contribution toward world peace." The foreign minister of China pointedly remarked: "Tojo's appointment means that Japan is ready to move." Tojo was generally known to be an ardent militarist, a friend of Germany, and a foe of Britain and America.

Meanwhile discussions were being conducted in Washington among the A B C D powers — America, Britain, China, and the Dutch. The Japanese interpreted these discussions as efforts toward encirclement. Premier Tojo told the War Office Staff on October 20: "To assure the removal of the root of the Chinese Incident and assure the Empire lasting peace and safety in the face of elaborate encirclement by hostile powers,

I believe it essential that we should adhere to the policy of settling the China Incident." The *Japan Times Advertiser*, organ of the foreign office, stated as early as August 7:

"First there was the creation of a super-base at Singapore, heavily reinforced by British and Empire troops. From this hub a great wheel was built up and linked with American bases to form a great ring sweeping in great areas southwards and westwards from the Philippines through Malaya and Burma, with the link broken only in the Thailand peninsula. Now it is proposed to include the narrows in the encirclement which proceeds to Rangoon. The A B C D scheme of alleged defense against a hypothetical Japanese southward aggressive encirclement is in reality an offensive encirclement in Japanese eyes. There is no justification for it. . . ."

In a speech to the Diet on November 17, Premier Tojo again stated: "Great Britain and the United States have even gone to the length of establishing encircling positions against Japan by inducing Australia, the Netherlands Indies and the Chungking regime to join in." On November 30, the anniversary of the declaration of Japan, Manchukuo, and Nanking for a New Order in East Asia, the Japanese premier stated:

"Chiang Kai-shek is dancing to the tune of American and British communism because the United States and Britain desire to fish in troubled waters, throwing the Asiatic peoples against each other. This is the stock in trade of Britain and the United States and therefore we must purge this sort of action with a vengeance. . . . Nothing can be permitted to interfere with this sphere because this sphere was decreed by Providence."

Meanwhile, on November 25 the framework of a World New Order in the Atlantic

and the Pacific was indicated when thirteen states signed the Anti-Comintern Protocol in Berlin, renewing the protocol of 1936. Here the New Order countries of East Asia and the New Europe met in the pomp and circumstance of the Third Reich. The thirteen states were Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Manchukuo, Spain, along with the new signers Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Finland, Rumania, Slovakia, and Nanking. The gathering of the New Order nations on both sides of the world in Berlin was considered by some authorities as a prelude for an "epoch-making" assembly after the defeat of Russia. Herr von Ribbentrop assured the delegates that Russia was already beaten and her resources were at the disposal of the "mighty European bloc." All the signers of the protocol were adherents of the Three-Power Pact of September 27, 1940, with the exception of Spain, Denmark, Finland, and Nanking. The Anti-Comintern Pact is the antechamber for those expected to adhere to the more specific and binding terms of the Three-Power Pact in the future.

By the beginning of December the tone of the Japanese press toward the United States was outright belligerent. The *Japan Times Advertiser* asserted on December 2 that the Japanese would bring home some "truths and some probably unpleasant truths about the situation in East Asia" to overcome the American efforts "to apply in their part of the world principles that exist only in dreamland." *Asahi* asserted: "There is no hope of an improvement in the American-Japanese negotiations unless the United States reconsiders its attitude of adhering to fanciful principles, or trampling underfoot Japan's position and prestige and of refusing to recognize realities in East Asia. The key to success of the negotiations, or otherwise, lies solely in America's attitude." The *Miyako* asserted on December 3 that

the A B C D powers were "hijackers waiting like wolves to jump on Japan."

On December 3 the President revealed to reporters that negotiations with Japan had been conducted since April. At the end of June the United States was surprised to learn that Japan was sending troops to Indo-China. Conversations were resumed after it was clearly understood that no additional territory would be taken by either one during the talks. Since the United States had recently received news that large additional forces were in Indo-China with more on the way, even the former numbers exceeding the limit accepted by France, the United States asked Japan to explain her intentions. The Japanese replied that Chinese troop movements along the northern border of Indo-China resulted in a re-arranging of Japanese troops in Indo-China as a "precautionary measure." Finally, on December 6, President Roosevelt sent an appeal to Emperor Hirohito on the reports of heavy troop movements in Indo-China.

Meanwhile the Bangkok radio confidently asserted on December 1 that "Thailand will never be attacked by Japanese troops." On December 6 Premier Luang Songgram of Thailand remarked that his country was ready to resist aggression from any quarter but that Thailand had concluded no separate pacts. Within a few hours Thailand was destined to receive a Japanese ultimatum, to resist Nipponese troops five hours, and to capitulate to the invaders. A few days later the kingdom was to declare war on the United States and Great Britain and aid in the Japanese invasion of Burma. The role of Thailand in the New Order in Greater East Asia is similar to the position of Hungary in the New Order in Europe.

The crux of the American and Japanese positions in the long negotiations is found in Secretary Hull's note of November 26 and the Japanese reply of December 7. The

American note contained an outline of a proposed agreement with a draft of a declaration of policy of the two governments and the steps to be taken by the two in pursuance thereof. The declaration of policy pledged the United States and Japan "to actively support and give practical application" to the following principles — the "inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations," the "noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries," "equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment," and "reliance upon international co-operation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies." The proposed steps included a multilateral non-aggression pact between the British Empire, China, Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States, Thailand, and the Netherlands; an agreement to respect the territorial integrity of Indo-China by the United States, Britain, China, the Netherlands, Japan and Thailand, with the Japanese withdrawal from China and Indo-China; "The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support, militarily, politically, economically, any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China, with its capital temporarily at Chungking"; both powers to give up established rights in China, rights in regard to international settlements and concessions, and rights under the Boxer Protocol of 1901; negotiations for a trade accord between Japan and the United States on a reciprocal most-favored-nation basis; the removal of freezing restrictions on funds, the stabilization of the dollar-yen rate; and "Both Governments will agree that no agreement which either has concluded with any third power or powers shall be interpreted by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment



and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area."

The Japanese reply was delivered to Secretary Hull on December 7, apparently to coincide with the bombs on Pearl Harbor:

"It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace and thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world. . . . However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted to every possible measure to assist the Chungking regime so as to obstruct the establishment of a general peace between Japan and China, interfering with Japan's constructive endeavors toward the stabilization of East Asia. Exerting pressure on the Netherlands East Indies, or menacing French Indo-China, they have attempted to frustrate Japan's aspiration to the ideal of common prosperity in cooperation with these regions. . . . These countries [the United States, the Netherlands Indies and Great Britain] have strengthened their military preparations perfecting an encirclement of Japan, and have brought about a situation which endangers the very existence of the empire. . . . The American Government, always holding fast to theories in disregard of realities, and refusing to yield an inch on its important principles, caused undue delay in the negotiations [between Washington and Tokyo]. . . . It is a fact of history that the countries of East Asia for the past hundred years or more have been compelled to observe the status quo under the Anglo-American policy of imperialistic exploitation and to sacrifice themselves to the prosperity of the two nations. The Japanese Government cannot tolerate the perpetuation of such a situation since it directly runs counter to Japan's fundamental policy to enable all nations to enjoy each its proper place in the world. . . . The attitude of the American

Government in demanding Japan not to support military, politically or economically any regime other than the regime at Chungking, disregarding thereby the existence of the Nanking Government, shatters the very basis of the present negotiations."

Secretary Hull, after reading this document, turned to Ambassador Nomura and peace envoy Kurusu and branded the note as "crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions." After he heard of the attack on Pearl Harbor the Secretary asserted: "It is now apparent to the whole world that Japan in its recent profession of a desire for peace has been infamously false and fraudulent."

On December 8, 1941, the President of the United States asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan: "Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy, the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan." The same day Prime Minister Churchill, in a speech on the outbreak of war between Britain and Japan, referred to the infection of Nippon by "Hitler's madness." On December 11, Herr Hitler declared war on the United States, accusing Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt across the years for the "responsibility," the former for the Treaty of Versailles, the latter for his failure "to recognize the new order." The Duce on the same day declared war on the United States after a "solemn decision . . . destined to give a new course to the history of continents." The logical conclusion of Axis efforts came on December 11, when Germany, Italy, and Japan signed a joint declaration to conduct a joint war and to make no separate armistice or peace without the agreement of all, and to collaborate closely after victory "to realize and establish an equitable new order in the world."

The issue was joined — the spark at Danzig that “far away city in a far away land,” to quote Mr. Chamberlain, had become another Sarajevo.

The New Order areas of Greater East Asia added since December 7, 1941 are as follows: the Philippine Islands (recently granted “independence” by Japan), Thailand (the only independent state in eastern Asia to co-operate after five hours of resistance), Burma (recently granted “independence” by Tokyo), British Malaya (reminiscent of Singapore), the Netherlands Indies (the richest colonial possession on the earth), British North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, Papua and northeastern New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago (chiefly New Britain and New Ireland), the Solomons (American Gettysburg of the southwest Pacific), the Gilberts, Nauru (the diplomacy of phosphates), Wake and Guam (American stepping stones to the Philippines), Attu, Kiska, and Amtchitka (territory of the Western Hemisphere), Hong Kong (British crown colony), the Andaman and Nicobar islands (stepping stones to Burma), and Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean, and Portuguese Timor (remnant of a great Portuguese empire in the Pacific).

The Japanese Empire now includes 300 million people and 3,250,000 square miles. But in the empire of the pilgrims of the New Order there are certain assets and liabilities. On the credit side Japan has an environment effective for food production according to Japanese standards; she has a heavy rice yield of 2350 pounds per acre; she has sufficient rainfall for most temperate crops; she has a long growing season, in many cases long enough for more than one crop; she has extensive fishing banks. Furthermore, her climate is favorable to human energy, including aggression. Japan's insular position and coast line have provided her with many fine harbors, inviting to the

development of a merchant marine and sea power. The Japanese people are, in general, docile and obedient, with a minimum of grumbling and a great devotion for the state exemplified by the Emperor. The government policy of strict control has marshalled the human and economic resources of the state for the war against the Anglo-Saxon powers. In industry five important Japanese families produce most of the planes, tanks, ships and other implements of war. Many of the workers live in dormitories; they have no right to change occupations; and they have no labor unions. Japan proper is so located that she can take offensive action in all directions — toward Siberia, toward the Aleutians, toward the middle Pacific, toward the South Pacific, and toward Manchukuo, Korea, and China. She has erected a series of outposts to guard the main islands by defense in depth. At present Japan proper is vulnerable only from Soviet Siberia. The main islands are poor in natural resources, but the empire now has practically all the strategic resources needed for waging war. The areas under the Japanese flag have a monopoly of the world's tin and rubber and vast supplies of petroleum, chrome, copper, coal, and iron. Madame Chiang Kai-shek has recently stated that Japan may soon have a railroad from northern China to Singapore. Furthermore, Nippon may be scattering her war plants in the more secure portions of the empire. The Japanese have spent years in the preparation for war, with the accumulation of stocks of strategic materials, the sending of students abroad, the use of foreign technicians and experts, and the construction of a powerful navy, army and air force. (*Figure 17.*) The Japanese have not had the difficulties with the subject peoples of Asia that the Germans have had in Europe. Premier Tojo claims Burma, the Philippines, Wang Ching-wei's China, Thailand, Indo-

China and even India as allies, though he does not include the British Malay and the Netherlands Indies.

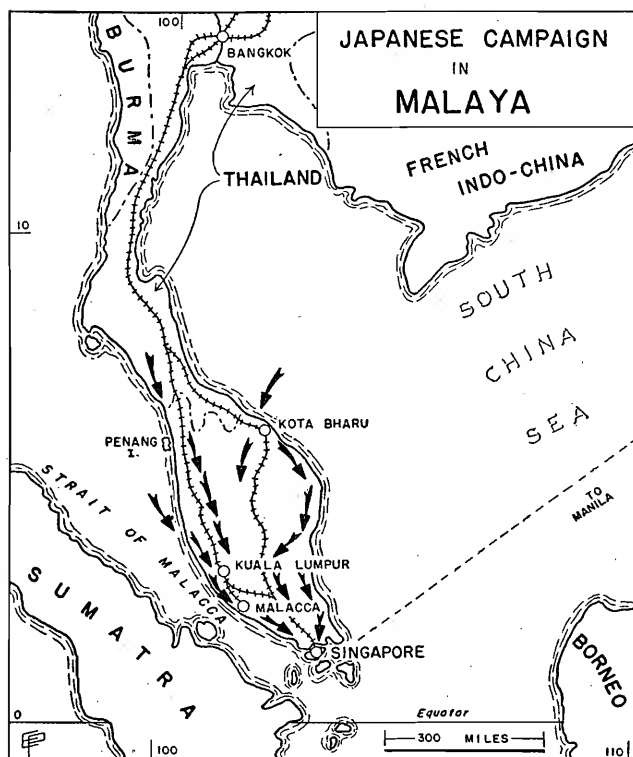


FIG. 17 · JAPANESE MALAYAN CAMPAIGN ·  
The guns of the impregnable SINGAPORE BASE pointed the wrong way

On the liability side, Nippon possesses many elements of weakness. The economic assets of Japan proper are limited: the population is 72 million, living on 52,000 square miles of arable land; the transportation and production machines are taxed to the limit; the steel capacity of the Japanese Empire is not comparable to that of the United States, not to mention that of the British Commonwealth-Empire; the Japanese conquest of Greater East Asia did not bring under the flag the iron and steel establishments comparable to Hitler's conquest of Europe. The raw materials of oil and tin in the south must be brought to Nippon, must be refined or smelted in the south or in Japan, and the effects of the "scorched

earth" policy of the British and Dutch must be obliterated. The huge empire must be guarded from all sides; the new conquests on the outer edges must be defended or evacuated. Japan is rimmed by hostile powers — the A. B. C. D. states of the Far East and the U.S.S.R. as a possible enemy seven hundred miles from Tokyo. Guerrilla activity, especially in conquered China and the Philippine Islands, is significant. The concentration of Japanese population and industry in a small area of the islands is a military liability. The industrial heart of Japan is the Osaka-Kobe area, the Yawata area, the Tokyo-Yokohama area and Nagasaki — all ideal targets from the air. However, some of them are located on the side of the islands away from the mainland, a factor advantageous for the airplane interceptors of Japan. Tokyo is the third largest city in the world; Osaka resembles Chicago in population; Kyoto and Nagoya have the population of Cleveland and St. Louis together; Yokohama and Kobe are ports both larger than San Francisco. Finally, Japanese morale is not unbreakable unless the Nipponese are not subject to the usual patterns of human behavior. The relatively small number of Japanese prisoners in the southwest Pacific and Aleutian fronts may be due to the small number of highly selected men sent by Tokyo to those areas. When the bombs begin to fall steadily upon the Ruhr of Japan and the Imperial armies move ever backwards, the people of the Rising Sun will have the same reactions as their Axis cousins in Italy and Germany. Furthermore, the Japanese at home represent many factions: the big-business group, the landowners, the militarists, the small-business groups, the peasants, the industrial workers, and the Emperor and the bureaucracy. Many of these groups will be more vocal when the New Order begins to crumble.

Japan inherently does not possess the

elements of power of Germany. The boundaries of Japan in 1874, when she possessed the four main islands, may be restored. China may acquire Taiwan, the Pescadores, and Manchuria; Russia may acquire the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin; Korea may be independent; the mandated islands may

go to the United States or to the United Nations; the conquests since 1941 may return to their former rulers; the future of the Bonin and Ryukyu Islands is more uncertain. One thing is definite: Japan as a great power will cease to exist in the councils of the world.

## Chapter Seven · The Soviet Union: Dynamics of the Eurasian Heartland

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The Soviet Union is the only nation in the present war that has withstood the armies of Nazi Germany. France was expected to be strong on the basis of her huge army, while Russia was believed to be weak on the basis of her war with Finland. In reality, Hitler defeated France within a few weeks, while the Soviets were able to push the Nazis out of most of Russia by the fall of 1943. Not only will the U.S.S.R. contribute substantially to the defeat of Hitler but also the future position of the Soviet Union both in Europe and the Far East will be extremely important. The location of the Soviet Union, which is largely Sir Halford Mackinder's "pivot area" or heartland, is a significant factor in the power of Russia in the world island. (*Figure 18.*) Whereas the United States must fight enemies that are 5000 to 8000 miles across the Pacific or 3000 miles across the Atlantic, the Soviet Union is in a geographical position to fight Germany and Japan at their very borders. On the other hand, if the Soviet Union were not sufficiently powerful, she could be defeated more easily by a next-door neighbor from either the east or the west or both. The cushioning effect of thousands of miles of oceans is an aid to a nation that has not prepared for war. The concentration of vital industries back of the Urals was an attempt to give the Soviet Union an opportunity to sell space to gain time if it became necessary.

One of the cardinal foreign policies of a nation, especially with the geographical location of the U.S.S.R., is the avoiding of the necessity to fight on two fronts at the

same time. Russian diplomacy, whether under the Tsars or the Communists, has succeeded in this policy, although no one knows exactly how near Japan came to attacking Siberia in this war. During the Napoleonic campaigns Russian efforts were directed toward Europe with no menace in the Far East; in the Crimean War the fighting was chiefly in the Crimea with no other major battlefields; during the Russo-Japanese War, Russian fighting was confined to the Far East, although England was an ally of Japan and the Dogger Banks episode nearly led to her participation; in the First World War Japan was an ally of Russia against the Germans; in the Second World War Japan and Russia signed a neutrality pact in April, 1940, an agreement which still binds the two states. On two occasions in the present conflict Japan may have come very near an attack on Siberia. On July 4, 1941, the United States sent a note to Japan referring to reports of a possible Japanese attack on Russia in support of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. The Japanese government replied four days later that Japan had not so far considered the possibility of entering the war against the U.S.S.R. Instead of attacking Russia the Japanese moved toward the southwest Pacific in December of that year. Again at Stalin-grad, in August, 1942, the possibility arose that Japan might seize the opportunity to attack Russia. It may be that the opening of the Guadalcanal campaign in the Solomons by the Americans in mid-August of that year had as one of its objectives the diversion of Japanese air power to the south-

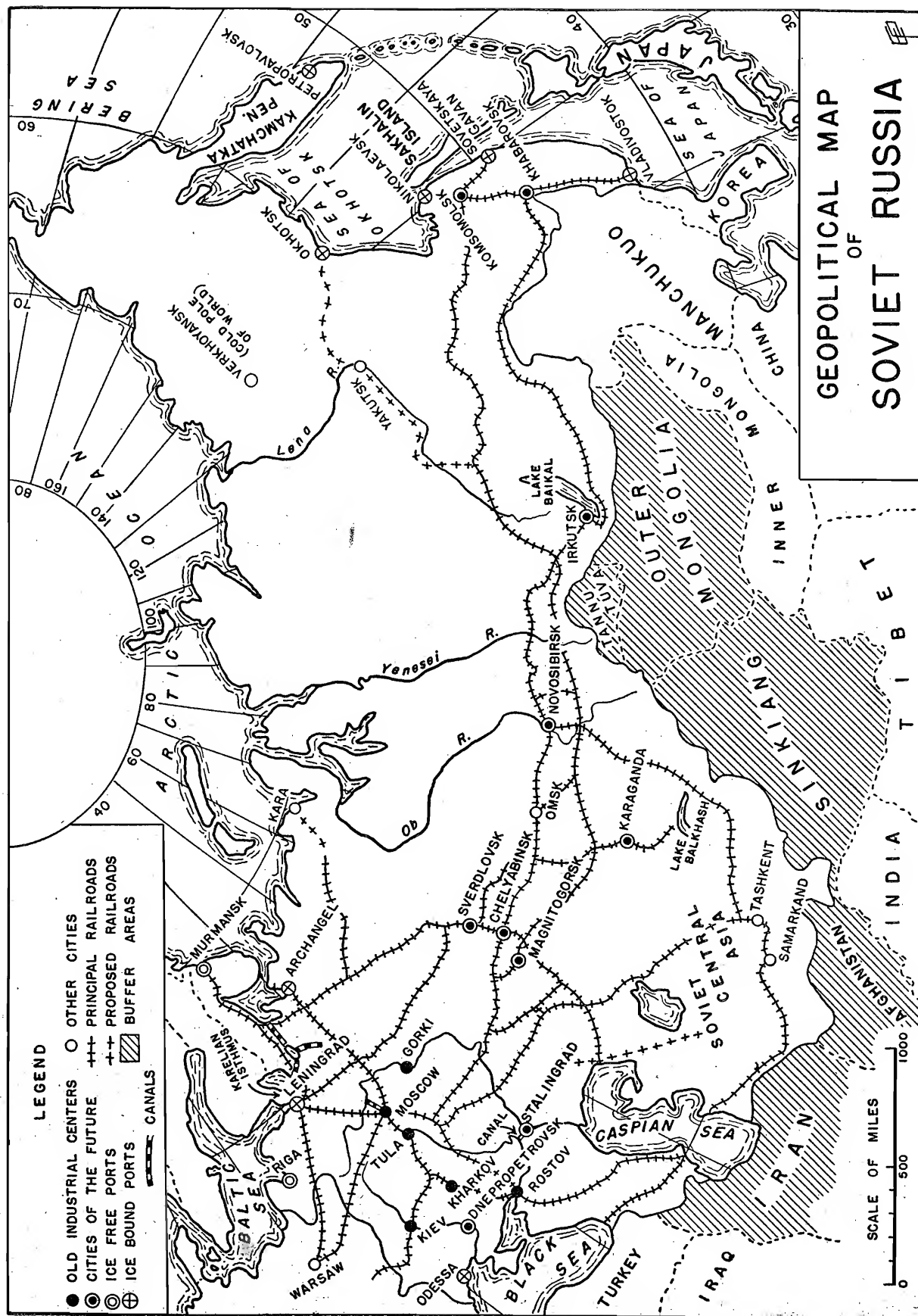


FIG. 18 · GEOPOLITICAL MAP OF SOVIET RUSSIA · Soviet Russia's modern dynamic development is a far cry from the old Czarist regime



west Pacific. If Stalingrad had fallen to the Nazi legions, the Japanese might have attempted to extend their empire to Lake Baikal.

The location of Russia has resulted in two objectives of foreign policy. First is the creation of buffer areas of space between the vital centers of the state and possible enemies either directly under the Soviet flag, as in eastern Poland, or under Soviet control, as in Outer Mongolia, or possessing independence, as in Afghanistan. There is also involved the political geography of temperature, the historic drive of the Russians for a warm-water port. In the north the Soviet Arctic extends from Finland to Alaska. Whereas this used to be an inaccessible area, the Soviets have done more work in the Arctic than any other people. Through the building of ice-breakers as large as eleven thousand tons, weather predictions as the result of studying meteorological conditions in the Arctic, and limited air navigation in polar areas, the Soviet Arctic has been utilized as a route of transportation. Navigation is now possible in August and September from Alaska across the Bering Strait to Archangel in the White Sea. In the summertime the Yenisei, Ob, and Lena rivers are navigable, while in the wintertime they are smooth bands of ice. In 1940, during August and September, two ships a day came to Port Dikson on the Yenisei. The Soviet fliers of 1937 flew from Moscow to California in 62 hours by way of the north polar areas. Although the Arctic can never become an important route for sea transportation throughout the entire year, it may become an important area for air transportation in the future.

To the east Siberia is separated from Alaska by 36 miles. Big Diomedes Island is under the Soviet flag, while Little Diomedes Island is under the American flag. Russian moves toward northern California were

one of the reasons for the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, especially the clause relative to "future colonization" in the New World. Since American thoughts have been directed primarily toward Europe, United States history books have neglected the Asiatic aspects of American history. In 1867 Russia sold Alaska, including the Aleutians, to the United States for \$7,200,000. The purchase of "Seward's Icebox" was finally approved by the American Senate partly because of the friendship of Russia to the Northern cause in the Civil War. Northwest of the Aleutians are the Commander Islands, off the coast of the peninsula of Kamchatka. The Russian peninsula of Kamchatka possesses the strategic naval base of Petropavlovsk on the east coast. The base has an excellent natural harbor, but, as with Russian ports, the water freezes in the wintertime. South of Kamchatka are the Japanese Kuriles with the important base of Paramushiro on the north. The islands were ceded by Russia to Japan in 1875. Off the coast of Russian Siberia north of Japan is the island of Sakhalin, half of which the Russians ceded to the Japanese in the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. Since the important oil reserves were found to be on the Russian half, the Japanese were granted concessions. The increasing determination of the Russian inhabitants to utilize their own resources has been a bone of contention between Moscow and Tokyo.

The northwest Pacific is one of the four great fishing areas of the world. The fishing rights of the Japanese, arising from the Treaty of Portsmouth, are a source of constant friction between the two peoples. Since 1936 they have been on a yearly basis, with the Russians driving a better bargain as their diplomatic and military position improves. In general, Soviet relations with Japan have been bad. The Japanese expansionists have long stated that the objec-

tive of Nipponese policy was the acquisition of Russian land to Lake Baikal; Japanese and Russian interests clashed in Mongolia, with Russia paramount in Outer Mongolia and the establishment of a Japanese puppet state in Inner Mongolia; Japanese collaboration with the Reich is considered a menace to the Soviet Union. Over 2400 border disputes occurred from 1931 to 1937, but they were not serious as compared with those during 1937-1939. In 1937 the Japanese gained their point in a struggle over two islands in the Amur River which they occupied despite Russian claims; in 1938 the Russians won their point in the battle for Changkufeng Hill, located where Siberia, Manchukuo, and Korea meet; in 1939 the Russians and Japanese were engaged in bitter fighting along the disputed boundary between the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo and the Russian puppet state of Outer Mongolia. It is significant from a climatic viewpoint that the fighting in 1937, 1938, and 1939 occurred in the summer.

The Russians have prepared for war with Japan by building forts, underground hangars, and oil-storage tanks in strategic areas, by cultivating self-sufficiency in the Far East, by the encouragement of the settlement of young, able-bodied Russians in the Far East, with the city of Komsomolsk as the leading example, by the double-tracking of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and by a possible second railroad from Taishe, west of Lake Baikal, thence north to Sovetskaya Gavan on the Pacific opposite Karafuto and by the extensive fortifications on the forest-clad hills of Vladivostok. The advantages of the Russians in case of war with Japan are the loyalty of the Soviet peoples of the Far East, the excellence of the war industries, the menace to Tokyo and other Japanese cities by air power only 700 miles away in Vladivostok, the threat to Japanese sea communications by Russian submarines

in the Sea of Japan, and the Red Army of the Far East, with one half to three fourths of a million men grouped first around Vladivostok, second along the Amur River at Blagoveshchensk and Khabarovsk, third at Chita, and fourth in Soviet Mongolia.

On the other hand, Japan has prepared for the possible war with the construction of a network of strategic railroads from the heart of Manchukuo to the Soviet border, air and military bases have been established in northern Manchukuo, a new seaport called Rashin has been constructed in northern Korea with excellent harbor facilities, attempts have been made to settle young Japanese in Manchukuo, and a puppet state has been set up in Inner Mongolia to balance Outer Mongolia under Russian control. Japanese advantages in a war with Russia are also significant: the maritime area of Russia east of the Amur River might be pinched off by Japanese movements from eastern Manchukuo and southern Sakhalin, both under Japanese control; reinforcements could be rushed more quickly by the Nipponese because of the inner shorter lines of communications; the Japanese Kwantung Army is one of the most highly trained units in the Empire; the flying distance from Tokyo to Vladivostok is just as short for Nipponese bombers as the distance from Vladivostok to Tokyo is for Russian bombers. If Japan starts the war, it will probably begin with a surprise attack on Vladivostok; if Russia starts the conflict, it will begin with an attack on Tokyo. In any Russo-Japanese war of the future the whole world situation would have to be considered as a general background: the status of the war in Europe, if it were still continuing, and the ability of the United States and Great Britain to supply Russia with war materials, to give naval aid in the North Pacific, to send reinforcements by air, and to open other fronts against the Japanese.

The Russians have long sought a warm-water port in the Far East. The water around Vladivostok begins to freeze in late December, ice-breakers are needed in January, and not until May does the harbor become ice-free. Petropavlovsk and Sovetskaya Gavan are closed to winter navigation. Port Arthur, on the Liaotung Peninsula in south Manchuria, is an ice-free port which the Russians actually controlled from 1898 to 1905. In 1895 the Russians along with the French and Germans forced the Japanese to turn the port back to China, but in 1905, at the Treaty of Portsmouth, the Japanese acquired the Russian lease with the subsequent approval of the Chinese. Soviet influence is paramount in large areas of outlying China, especially in Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. Buryat-Mongolia is a part of the Soviet Union, but Outer Mongolia is recognized by the Soviets as under Chinese sovereignty, although the Russians are united with Outer Mongolia through the mutual-assistance pact of March 12, 1936. Any attack on Outer Mongolia would mean a *casus foederis* to the Soviet Union. Of the five million Mongols, two million live in western Manchukuo, one and one-half million in Inner Mongolia of northwestern China, less than a million in Outer Mongolia, and the rest in Buryat-Mongolia. The Manchukuo flag contains five stripes, one for the Mongols. Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan is likewise under Russian domination, although Chinese sovereignty is recognized by the Soviets. Sinkiang is one third as large as the United States, but it is primarily wasteland. The area is especially important in the present war, since the important supply route overland from Chungking to Russia crosses the area. This supply route was much more important when Russia was rushing military supplies to China before the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. In the Far East the Soviets have

followed the policy of controlling border areas of China without outright annexation, while in Europe the Soviets have pursued the policy of incorporation of certain areas into the U.S.S.R.

Russian interests along the southern boundaries have frequently clashed with the British. Russia, as a land power, has sought an outlet on the Persian Gulf or through the straits, while Britain, as a sea power, has opposed these Russian ambitions. Nowhere on the earth do the boundaries of Russia and Britain actually meet. The Crimean War showed that it was very difficult to find a land battle zone for the two great powers. The Crimean peninsula was eventually chosen on account of the cooperation of Turkey and the location of the strategic Russian naval base at Sevastopol. Russian pressure has historically been directed at different times in different directions. In the 1850's the direction was the Balkans and the Straits, involving war with Britain and Turkey; in the 1880's it was the Middle East, involving tension with Britain; in the early 1900's it was the Far East, involving war with Japan; it was once more in eastern Europe from September 1939 to August 1940 with the annexation of the border areas. The rivalry between Britain and Russia in the Middle East was laid aside by the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907, whereby Persia was divided into three spheres of influence, the northern, Russian, the southern, British, and the central, open to both; Russia recognized Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence; both Russia and Britain agreed to let Tibet alone. In Persia the British have prevented the Russians from acquiring a warm-water port on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. In the First World War as well as in the Second, Russia and Britain became allies against Germany. As a result of the attitude of the Shah of Iran, British and Russian

forces in August 1941 moved into Iran, the Russian into the north and the British into the south, while both agreed to leave the country after the war. Axis agents were also forced to leave Afghanistan, although the Axis diplomats remained, and the country is still technically neutral.

In the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1801), Russia seized from Turkish suzerains the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Crimea. This led to the "historic mission" of Russia to control the straits, which remained under the Turkish flag. Sometimes this mission has been a desire for outright annexation or sometimes this has been a demand for preferential treatment of Russian warships passing through the straits. Russian ambitions toward the straits have been opposed by Great Britain, which has usually supported Turkey. The diplomacy relative to Turkey centering around the Crimean War, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and probably the Second World War, bears out this statement. The traditional friendship between Turkey and Great Britain was broken in 1914, when Turkey entered the First World War as an ally of Germany. One of the most famous chapters of Anzac history was written by the Australian-New Zealand Army Corps in 1915, by their efforts to get the straits and open up a supply route to Russia. Turkey was allowed to keep the straits after the First World War, and she received permission to fortify them in the Montreux Convention of 1936. Stalin's interest in the straits in 1939, when he was regaining most of the 1914 boundaries, caused considerable suspicion in Ankara. Although Turkey is an ally of Great Britain, Ankara had not entered the war by the end of 1943, partly because of fears of the U.S.S.R. The "historic mission" of Russia is still very much in the minds of the Turks.

Toward the west, the Russians have been

pursuing a policy that would create a zone in which they could sell space to gain time in case of war. In the late 1700's, during the reign of Catherine the Great, a large part of Poland was placed under Russian control by the famous three partitions. In the same century, Lithuania, Estonia, Courland, and Livonia had come under the Tsarist rule. It was Peter the Great who founded St. Petersburg and who acquired much of the Baltic area, giving Russia a window on the Baltic Sea. Both Catherine and Peter sought to turn the eyes of the Russians westward toward Europe. Finland, which had been a part of Sweden, was turned over to Russia in 1809, after it had been seized by the Russians in the Napoleonic era. Following the German defeat of the Tsar in the First World War, Russia in 1918, at the Polish city of Brest-Litovsk, renounced all claims to Finland, Estonia, Livonia, Courland, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine. With the collapse of the Kaiser, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland became independent, while most of the Ukraine was returned to the U.S.S.R. Leningrad found itself within artillery range of Finland, while most of the former Russian naval bases in the Baltic were lost. Furthermore, it was recognized that a pro-German government in Finland and the Baltic states would be a definite menace to Russia. In southeastern Europe Rumania seized Bessarabia, which had been Russian under the Tsars. The new Polish Republic acquired from Russia a large area with a population of White Russians. Great Britain was definitely opposed to the eastern frontier of Poland, since London favored the Curzon line.

With the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe the Soviets began to mend their boundary fences. In September, 1939, the fourth partition of Poland gave Russia 14 million people and 75,000 square miles.

Most of this area had belonged to Russia before the First World War. Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania were forced to cede naval and air bases to the Russians and to allow Soviet garrisons within their borders. In August, 1940, the three states were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. The refusal of Finland to yield bases to Russia led to the Russo-Finnish war of November, 1939 to March, 1940. Finland surrendered the Karelian Isthmus, with its famous Mannerheim line, Viipuri, and the western shores of Lake Ladoga, an area in the northeastern central region, and granted a thirty-year lease on the strategic island of Hangoe for a naval base. In June, 1940, Soviet forces occupied Bessarabia and northern Bukovina in Rumania. Russia had acquired about the same western frontiers as she had had in 1914 with the exception of Finland. Her Baltic position was strengthened strategically, and she commanded the main Danube mouth. Moreover, she had gained a valuable buffer area for the coming struggle against Hitler. On the other hand, she assured the Führer of allies, Finland and Rumania, in his war with Russia. From the newly-acquired lands five republics were incorporated into the U.S.S.R., raising the number from 11 to 16. They are the Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. The Soviets can now argue that these areas are an integral part of the state, just as Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont are an integral part of the United States. Even if the Soviet boundaries of 1942 stand after the war, Russia will still have only the ice-free port of Murmansk and Liepaja in Europe, with no ice-free port in the Far East.

The heartland technique of defense involves not only the geopolitical concepts of defense in depth and selling space to gain time but also the organization of human and material resources under a government

that is capable of taking advantage of the heartland position. The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union presented the longest land front in history — 2000 miles from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Germany and her Axis allies represented 198 million people against the 193 million of the Soviet Union. Germany marshalled most of Europe in the "crusade" against Communism. Italy, Finland, Hungary, Rumania, Croatia, and Slovakia declared war, while Spain sent the Blue Legion of volunteers, and Vichy France severed diplomatic relations. Only Bulgaria, having Slavic ties with Russia, refused to declare war on its great neighbor. On the other hand, Great Britain and eventually the United States became allies of the Soviets, attempting to keep open the important supply routes by sea in order to furnish the Soviets with implements of war. During the summer of 1943, the Russians themselves admitted four and one-half million casualties. The opening of the famous Second Front will relieve Nazi pressure in the East and spell the end of the Third Reich. Much of the fiercest fighting of the Second World War is along the eastern battle front, where the hatred of German and Slav and the ideological hatred of Nazism and Communism have increased the ferocity of the fighting.

The Führer's reasons for invading the U.S.S.R. are varied: he desired the raw materials of Russia: petroleum, which is the blood of war, the iron and coal deposits, which are the basis of industrial capacity, and the great wheat areas of the black belt, which can feed the Master Race; he wanted to safeguard his rear in the event of a future attack on the British Isles; he believed in a quick and easy victory with all the laurels of a Roman triumph; he hated the ideas of Communism, and he desired to confuse the democracies; finally, he wanted to meet the Japanese in the Middle East in order to

separate the heartland from the vital supplies of Britain and America. On the other hand, the success of Russian resistance was due to numerous factors: the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin; the absence of a fifth column in Russia, due largely to the purges of the Soviet dictator; the "scorched earth" policy of the Russians, which gave the Nazis little aid for the continuation of the fight on Soviet soil; the climatic generals of the east, General Winter and General Mud; the increased industrialization of Russia, especially behind the Urals; the Allied aid via Murmansk and Iran, using British and American ships, and via the North Pacific, using Russian ships; and, finally, the geopolitical ideas of selling space to gain time and defense in depth.

The German geopoliticians have long been fearful of a war involving the invasion of a large spatial area. Napoleon had left the Niemen area in June, 1812, with a Grand Army of 450,000. The Russians retired into the depths of their country, while the battle of Borodino was indecisive. Eventually Moscow was entered by the soldiers of Napoleon, but it was a barren victory. Since the Russians refused to risk their fate in a full-scale battle and since the French could not chase the Russians into Siberia, Napoleon retreated in late December. The invasion of Russia in 1812 spelled the eventual doom of Napoleon at Leipzig in 1814 and at Waterloo in 1815. In the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, Smolensk and Vitebsk, cities visited by the Grand Army of the French Emperor, once more became prominent. Haushofer had carefully studied the French invasion of Russia, and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. He probably believed that Russia could be better conquered through economic strangulation by the Germans. However, he believed that the only way to defeat a spatial giant like Russia was the Keil und

Kessel method of striking at the enemy forces with blitzkrieg tactics, of encircling large numbers, and annihilating them. (*Figure 19.*) In the summer of 1942 the main Nazi objective was the annihilation of the Russian armies. Since the Soviet commanders managed to keep their armies intact, Hitler, late in 1941, headed toward Moscow, a spatial objective, but he was repulsed by the Russians. In the summer of 1942 the objectives were spatial, as is shown by the campaigns against Stalingrad and in the Caucasus. (*Figure 20.*)

The vast size of Russia is well indicated by the fact that she possesses one sixth of the earth's surface, or one half of Europe and one third of Asia. Furthermore, the Soviets had space in which to move industries inland. The most developed agricultural and industrial areas of the U.S.S.R. lay in the path of the invader. Sir Halford Mackinder has stated that the situation would have been remedied if the Nazis had delayed the invasion of the Soviet Union a couple of years. The Russian armies were eager to hold back the Nazis just as long as possible in order to continue the process of moving the industries back of the Urals.

The climate of Russia proved a valuable ally of the Soviets. The winters are cold and the snow is deep. Russian armies, better adapted to bitter winters, conducted the counterattacks in the winters of 1941 and 1942. On the other hand, the summers are hot and the ground is firm. Hitler's advances were made in the summers of 1941 and 1942. The high tide of German aggression was the planting of the Nazi flag in the very streets of Stalingrad in autumn, 1942. Only in the summer of 1943 were the Russians able to start a big counteroffensive of their own. By October, 1943, the Russians had pushed the Nazis out of more than 470,000 square miles of the 700,000 square miles they had seized in the Soviet Union.



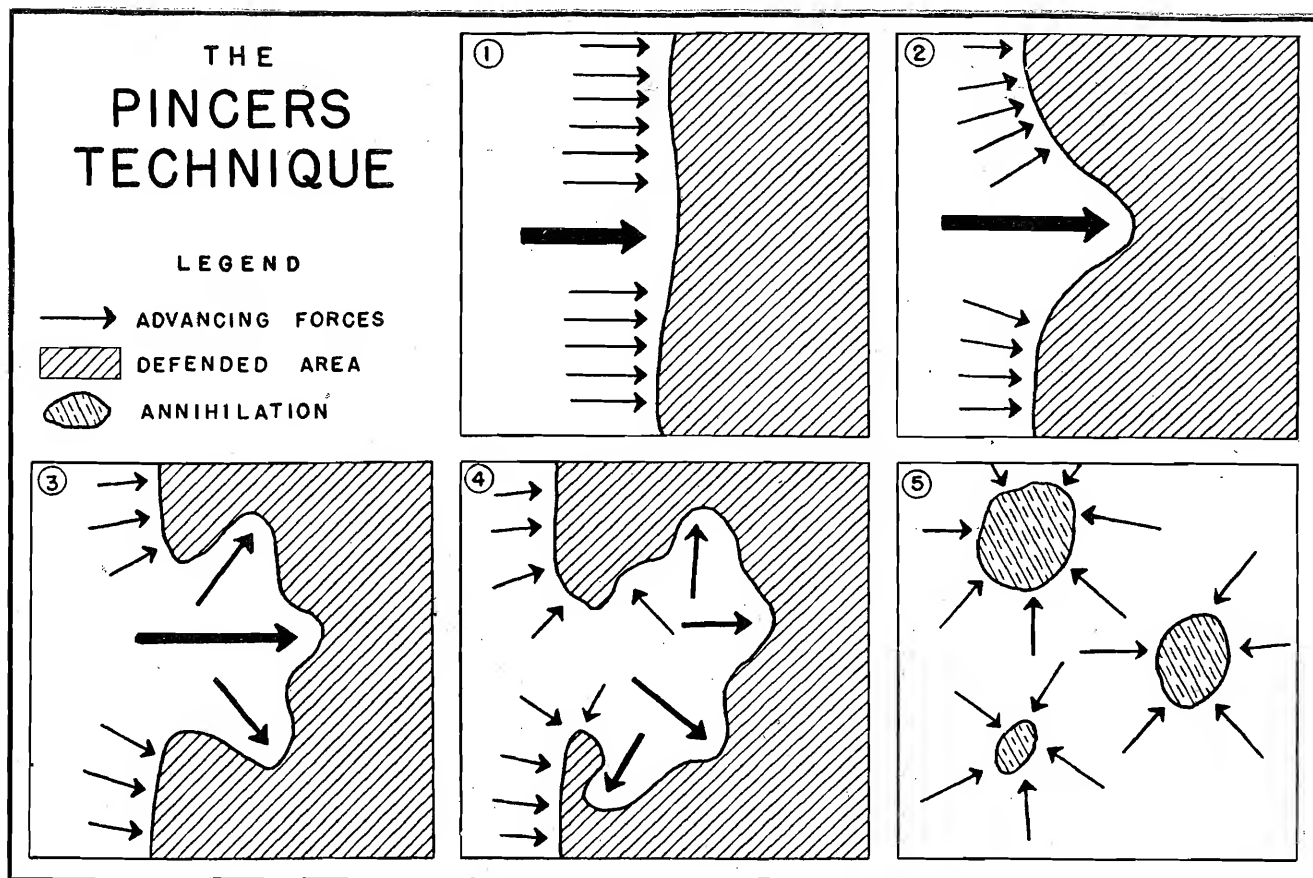


FIG. 19 · THE PINCERS TECHNIQUE · Type of blitzkrieg used by the Germans in 1941 on the Russian Front

The question of the future strength of the U.S.S.R. in the world is very significant. According to Sir Halford Mackinder, the heartland is the pivot area of the world island. Except for Lenaland, the U.S.S.R. is generally equivalent to the heartland. The southern Ural area is the pivot area of the heartland. The idea of the heartland, according to a recent statement by Mackinder, is more valid than ever. As he says, "All things considered, the conclusion is unavoidable that if the Soviet Union emerges from this war as conqueror of Germany, she must rank as the greatest land power on the globe. Moreover, she will be the power in the strategically strongest defense position. The heartland is the greatest natural fortress on earth. For the first time in history it is manned by a garrison sufficient both in

number and quality."<sup>1</sup> If these statements are borne out by history, the future role of Russia in world affairs will be very important.

An examination of the heartland is now necessary in terms of three factors: the population, the natural resources, and the organization of the Soviet Union. The population of the U.S.S.R. in 1942 was 193,000,000; of this number 6,000,000 lived in Lenaland, most of them along the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Irkutsk to Vladivostok. Almost one tenth of the world's population is under the Soviet flag. Moreover, the population is increasing at the rate of three million a year. A redistribution of the Russian peoples is occurring, especially

<sup>1</sup>Sir Halford Mackinder, "The Round World and the Winning of the Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, 21 (July, 1943), 595-605.

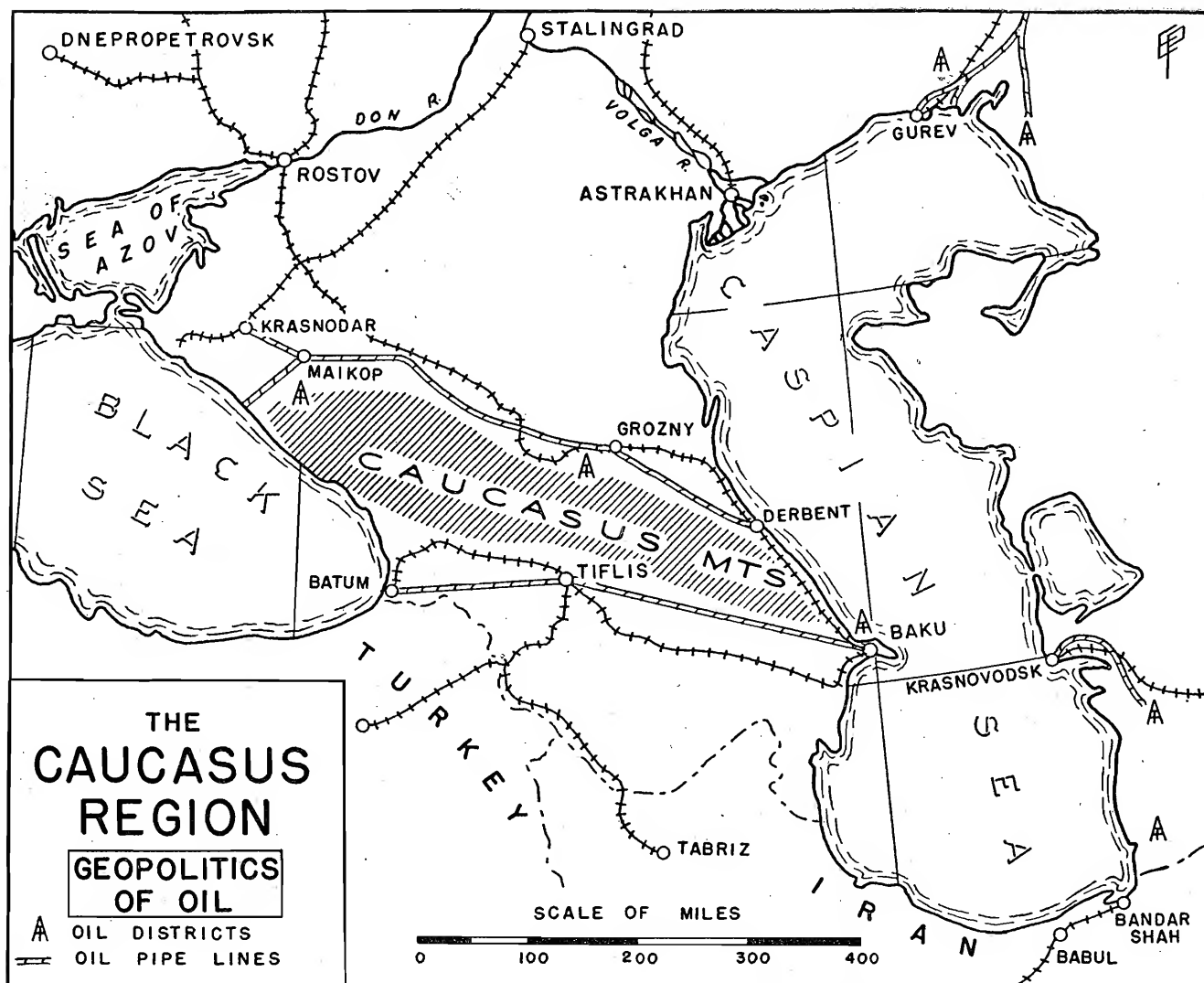


FIG. 20 · THE CAUCASUS REGION · The richest oil-producing area in the world outside the United States

in Soviet Central Asia and along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. New cities are rising in places which formerly had very few, if any, people. Igarka in the Yenisei Valley now has a population of 30,000; Komsomolsk, the city of Communist Youth, has risen in the Far East; Zaporozhe, Kramatorsk, and Gorlovka in the Ukraine were built under the impetus of the Five-Year Plans; Magnitogorsk in the Urals is a new city of the last ten years, important in its armament manufactures; Karaganda, north of Lake Balkhash, is rising as a result of the coal mines in that region.

Within the Soviet Union are nearly 200 different national and racial groups. The three main branches of the Russians themselves are: the Great Russians, who are located primarily in the central portion of European Russia and along the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Vladivostok; the White Russians, who are found in the western section of European Russia; and the Little Russians, or Ukrainians, who live in the Ukraine in southern Russia. Poles, Finns, and even Germans are found in European Russia. In the days of Catherine the Great a colony of Germans settled on the Volga

River. The Asiatic populations of the Soviet Union are widely varied, including Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Kalmuks, and Samoyeds. The leading language of the Soviet Union is Great Russian, while White Russian is really a dialect of it, and Ukrainian is closely related to it. Although these are the principal Slavic languages, more than a hundred separate languages are spoken. The Slavonic, Baltic, Finno-Tartar, Turko-Tartar, Latin, and Teutonic languages, all with their subdivisions, reflect the different nationalities of the U.S.S.R. in Europe.

The religions of the people are many: the Poles are Roman Catholics, the Germans are largely Lutherans or Catholics, until 1917 most of the Great and Little Russians were Greek Orthodox Catholics, and many of the White Russians were members of the Uniate church. About three and a half million are Jews, while most of the Asiatic peoples are Moslems or Buddhists. The Soviet policy, unlike that of the Tsars, is to foster the various language and cultural groups of the country. Non-Russian nationalities enjoy the same rights as the Russians; Stalin himself is a native Georgian from the Caucasus. However, the uniform political and economic pattern of the Communists was imposed upon the peoples, while the church and state were completely separated. The policy of the Soviet government toward religion in the U.S.S.R. has passed from marked criticism to a more tolerant attitude as a result of the impact of the German invasion. In wartime the Soviets have shown that they possess the man power necessary to survive the terrible casualties inflicted by the Nazi war machine and to maintain the industrial and agricultural production of the home front. The Russian soldier, whether or not he is an actual member of the Communist party, has proved that he is capable of withstanding the Nazi juggernaut. The Russian worker in the factory

and on the farm has proved that he can produce the implements of war and supplies necessary for its prosecution.

The resources of the Soviet heartland have only recently been effectively utilized by the Russians under the Five-Year Plans. Russia has sufficient coal in the Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk areas alone to supply the needs of the world for 300 years. The U.S.S.R. is second only to the United States in coal reserves. Under the Tsars, 90% of the coal came from the Donbas, with brown coal from the Moscow-Tula area. The most important newer fields are the Kuznetsk in western Siberia and the Karaganda in Kazakh S.S.R. Other areas are the Lensk in the Lena Valley, the Tungus in the Yenisei Basin, Pechora in northern Europe, the Ural basins, and others in the Far East. Regarding petroleum, the U.S.S.R. occupies a significant position both in production and in reserves. Geologists estimate that the present reserves of the U.S.S.R. are probably more extensive than those of the United States. Under the Tsars, about 95% of the oil came from the Baku, Grozny, and Maikop oil fields. New oil fields of great importance, especially for the future, have been found in the Volga-Urals area stretching to the Caspian, an area called "a second Baku." In the Far East the island of Sakhalin is a producer, although the Japanese have petroleum concessions there. In view of the importance of oil in the modern world, the resources of the U.S.S.R. are a major factor of geopolitical significance. Turning to developed water power, we find that the U.S.S.R. and the United States produced one third of the world's developed water power before the war. In the U.S.S.R. the Ukraine has 33% of the total production, the Moscow area 31%, Leningrad 17%, the Urals 12%, and the Caucasus 7%. The famous Dneprostroy dam, symbolic of the industrial age of Russia, was blown

up by the Soviets in August, 1941, as the Nazi legions approached it.

Since the basis of industrial civilization is iron and steel, the iron deposits of the U.S.S.R. are a key to the future. The production in 1938 was rapidly approaching the American. In the days of the Tsars more than 50% of the iron ore came from the Krivoi Rog area and the rest largely from the Urals. The most important newly opened iron-ore fields are in the Urals — Magnet Mountain and the magnetic ores of Kursk. Other centers are Nikolaevsk, Yakutsk, and Irkutsk. Manganese is found in the Ukraine, Caucasus, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Irkutsk. Copper is found near Lake Balkhash, Ridder, and Dzhezkazgan. Nickel is located in the Kola Peninsula, while chrome is found in Orsk. Bauxite comes from the Kola Peninsula, the Ukraine, and the areas of Leningrad and Chelyabinsk. Gold is found at Vitim-Lena, Aldan, and Yakutsk. Other important items are lead and zinc in Kazakh S. S. R., and platinum, molybdenum, vanadium, wolfram, tin, antimony, and mercury in the Urals.

The major industrial centers of the U.S. S.R. are the Ukraine area, the Leningrad area, the Kuznetsk area, and the Turkestan area. The great Soviet arsenal is Sverdlovsk, in the Urals, while Magnitogorsk has been called the Pittsburgh of the country. In the Far East the coal of the Bureya Valley and the iron ore from the Little Khingan Mountains are utilized as the basis of the metallurgical works.

The U.S.S.R. is self-sufficient in the production of foodstuffs. In 1938 Russia led the world in the production of wheat, oats, rye, and sugar beets. The great agricultural region is the black belt extending from the Ukraine well into western Siberia beyond the Urals.

Cotton is raised in Soviet Central Asia and Transcaucasia. Rubber is produced

synthetically and also from the kok-sagyz plant of Soviet Central Asia grown in the Syr Daria region. Sheep are raised in the Caucasus and in the area from the Caspian to the Pamirs. Dairying is especially prominent at Omsk. The lumbering industry of the Soviets is just beginning to tap the vast timber reserves of the country.

Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have the advantages of possessing in their homelands the foodstuffs and the raw materials necessary for self-sufficiency on a large scale. Russian industrialization is at an early stage, while American industrialization is well developed. The organization of Soviet resources has been effected by the Five-Year Plans of the Communists beginning in 1928. The primary objectives of the Five-Year Plans were to industrialize the state, to provide a balance between agriculture and industry, and to move the vital industries of the country as far to the central sections as feasible. All the plans embraced the construction of plants for heavy industry and machine building. Electrification was speeded as rapidly as possible. In the first Five-Year Plan the emphasis was placed on Western Russia. Leningrad is an industrial city, now manufacturing heavy machinery, constructing ships, and building aircraft. Moscow, with a population of 4,000,000 now manufactures aircraft, automobiles, heavy machinery, and machine tools. It may have the largest ball-bearing factory in the world. Gorki produces automobiles, aero-engines, aircraft, and locomotives. The most important industrial city of the Ukraine is the capital, Kiev, but Kharkov, Stalino and Dnepropetrovsk are important. Kharkov has specialized in manufacturing tractors, electric machinery, and aircraft. The continuation of the Five-Year Plans resulted in the growing industrial development of the Soviet Union. Considerable emphasis was placed on industrial expansion in the Urals

and in Soviet Central Asia. Magnitogorsk has become a city for manufacturing machinery and aero-engines and for refining bauxite. Because of the presence of iron ore, blast furnaces and open hearth furnaces are located in the area. Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk have become important industrial cities, symbolic of even future development in the southern Urals. Likewise, in the Kuznetsk area new industrial cities are rising, such as Stalinsk and Leninsk. Kuznetski with more than 100 thousand people is producing locomotives, chemicals, and textiles. Efforts were made to make the Soviet Far East self-sufficient. The growing of wheat and the developing of industries were encouraged. Chita has become an important flour-milling area of the Trans-Baikal region. Khabarovsk on the Amur, Komsomolsk, a genuine city of youth, Nikolaevsk at the mouth of the Amur, and Sovetskaya Gavan, a new seaport, are rising with Russian expansion. Vladivostok, with a population of 206,000, is the commercial and naval center of the Russians in the Far East. Taishet has become the terminus of the new Soviet railroad that leads north of Lake Baikal to the Pacific. By 1943 the Soviet Far East had six million people.

The Communists have also sought to revolutionize agriculture. In 1929 a million peasant householders were united into more than 50,000 collective farms. By 1938 almost 19 million peasant householders formed 250,000 collective farms. The lands, draught animals, and equipment belong to the collective farm as a whole, but each family is allowed a plot of land for a garden and an orchard, as well as a cow, pigs, poultry, and certain personal property. The peasants elect a management board. The produce of the farm is divided, with a fixed quota to the state, a quota to the tractor station, a quota for seed, and the rest to the members of the collective farm, with larger sums to

those who work above the minimum requirement. Each collective farm may call upon a state tractor station for such machinery as plows, harvester combines, and tractors. State farms exist in certain areas for large-scale farming, with specialization in cotton growing or cattle raising.

The natural resources of the U.S.S.R. could not be utilized unless transportation facilities existed for their development. The length of navigable rivers used by the Russians is greater than anywhere else in the world. The construction of many canals linking the important rivers is an accomplishment of the Soviets. The Stalin Canal from the White Sea to Leningrad prevents a long sea trip from Leningrad to Murmansk. The Volga-Moscow Canal, finished in 1937, is 80 miles long, 18 feet deep, and 280 feet wide. Moscow is now linked with canals to the Caspian, Baltic, and White Seas, while eventually a Volga-Don canal will be constructed. Under the Tsarist regime the railroad pattern of Russia radiated from the three main industrial centers, the Ukraine, Leningrad, and Moscow, with connections to the Caucasus, the Urals, and Vladivostok. The Soviets have greatly expanded the railroad system in order to improve communications and to serve new districts of importance. The broad gauge of five feet is used on Russian railroads, while Germans use the standard gauge. This was a definite military asset to the Russians in the present war. The Trans-Siberian Railroad, famous in Russian expansion, has been double-tracked. The cities located at the points where the railroad running east and west crosses the large rivers running north and south have been benefited. These are Omsk on the Irtysh, Novosibirsk on the Ob, Krasnoyarsk on the Yenisei, Irkutsk on the Angara, and Khabarovsk on the Amur. Many new railroads have been constructed for economic or strategic regions. The

probable branch of the Trans-Siberian Railroad north of Lake Baikal is very important; a railroad has been built from Khabarovsk to Komsomolsk with plans for extending it to Nikolaievsk; the important Turksib railroad exchanges the cotton of central Asia for the wheat of Siberia. Coal is taken from the Karaganda district by train to the areas of the south Urals. Iron is moved by railroad from the south Urals to the coal areas of the Kuznetsk, while coal is moved from the Kuznetsk to the iron areas of the south Urals. The iron-and-steel centers of the Kuznetsk and the south Urals both profit by this double traffic over 1200 miles each way.

On account of the Russian use of inland waterways and railroads, highways in the Soviet Union are not so extensively developed as in the United States. However, the Russians have made great progress in the development of airlines, ranking second to the United States in civil aviation before the war. Airways fanned out from Moscow to the Ukraine, Caucasus, White Russia, Leningrad, and the Far East. The airways in Siberia followed the Trans-Siberian Railroad, with branches along the great rivers to the north and to Soviet Central Asia in the south. The disadvantages of ocean transportation for a country with the continental location of the U.S.S.R. are shown in this war. The only ways for supplies to get to Russia are via the North Atlantic route to Murmansk, via the Cape route or Mediterranean route through Iran to Russia, and via the north Pacific to Vladivostok in Soviet ships.

The government organization of the heartland has proved its strength in the present war. The November revolution of 1917 is the basis for the Communist state. Lenin became the ruler of all Russia after the expulsion of Allied troops on Soviet soil and the destruction of the White armies. In 1924, after the death of Lenin, Stalin and

Trotsky competed for supremacy. Eventually Stalin triumphed, and Trotsky left the country. The constitution of 1937, establishing a socialist state of workers and peasants according to Article I, is the supreme law of the land. Of the 16 republics, the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic has more than 100 million people and occupies over six million square miles. The Russian nationalities have either republics of their own with complete autonomy, autonomous republics, or autonomous regions with more limited authority. In the Far East the Jews have their own unit, Biro-Bidjan. The sixteen Soviet Republics are Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia (White Russia), Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia in the Caucasus, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz in Soviet Central Asia, and the five new ones — Moldavia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Karelo-Finnish republic. (*Figure 21.*)

The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. meets twice a year, passes legislation, elects the Presidium, appoints the Council of People's Commissars, and elects the Supreme Court. The Presidium of 37, under the presidency of Michael Kalinin, assumes the duties in the interval between the sessions of the Supreme Council, which confirms its decisions. The Council of People's Commissars, resembling somewhat the President's cabinet in the United States, is the highest executive and administrative organ of the country. In 1941, on the eve of the Nazi invasion, Stalin assumed the official position of Premier and Commissar for Defense. The Supreme Council is composed of the Council of the Union, elected according to population with one deputy for each electoral area of 300,000 citizens, and the council of Nationalities, with the Union Republics sending twenty-five each, the Autonomous Republics eleven, the Autonomous Regions five, and the National Areas



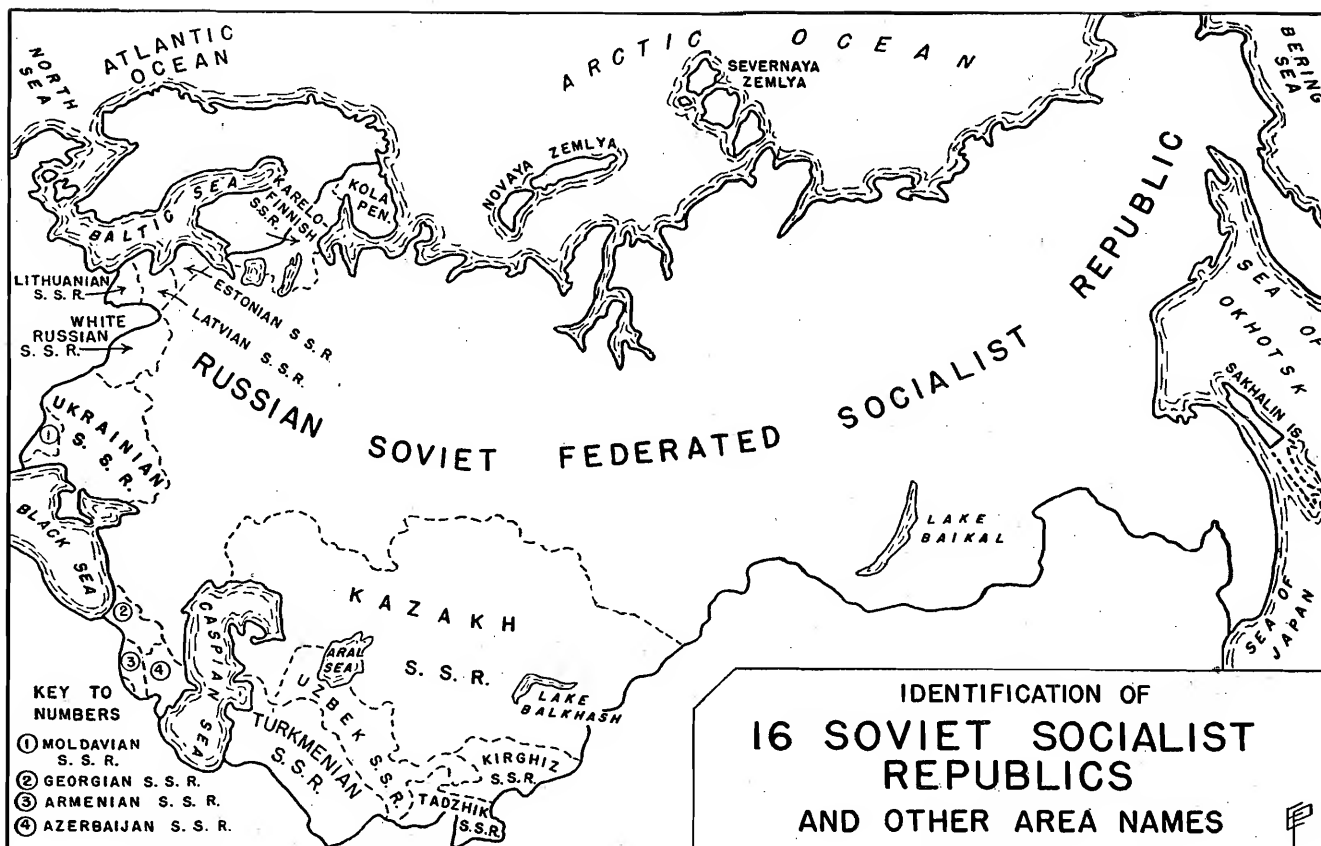


FIG. 21 · 16 SOVIET SOCIALISTIC REPUBLICS · The Russian Republic in the Soviet Union is a “giant within a giant”

one. The sixteen republics are concerned with matters that can be better solved by local action. Although they have their own constitutions, they must conform to the Union constitution. Local Soviets deal with the administration of territories, provinces, regions, districts, towns, and villages. Although the Communist party, comprising a little more than two million people, is the only party in the Union, both party and nonparty members are elected to the Soviets. However, all people are required to accept the socialist basis of the state. The equality of sex, the encouragement of education, and racial toleration are among the advantageous aspects of the Soviet state.

At present many factors separate the United States and the U.S.S.R.: the Russian form of dictatorship is contrary to the American way of democracy; the Russian

insistence on 1940 boundaries runs counter to American desires; Soviet interests in the Chinese Communists may clash with American interests in Kuomintang China; Russia may be fearful of a hostile administration coming into office in Washington; the Soviet demands for a second front in Europe may eventually become an American demand for a Siberian front against Japan; the abolishment of the Comintern may prove only a temporary expedient; the final treatment of defeated Germany may cause friction. The conference of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union at Moscow in October, and especially of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill at Tehran, Iran, in November, 1943, must have covered many subjects, and have undoubtedly prepared for better understandings.

The factors that may unite the Americans and Russians are also notable: the Russians will need United States aid in restoring the devastated areas of the western parts of their country; the U.S.S.R. and the United States must co-operate if a future Germany and a future Japan are not to rise to power again; the United States and the U.S.S.R. have been traditional friends, especially during the Civil War and the Second World War; the Russians and the Americans have had a similar history, in so far as one has expanded to the east and the other to the west, while both have been changing from an agricultural to an industrial civilization; the use of the Arctic as an aerial Mediterranean for bombers in a future world war would be equally disastrous for both coun-

tries; Communism, unlike Fascism, is not a threat to democracy from a theoretical viewpoint; the Soviet government is becoming less interested in the world revolution; and, finally, the United States and the U.S.S.R. may represent a balance of power in which neither one would want to risk war with the other.

The fact that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a strong state is no longer a question; the future role of the Soviet Union among the great powers is a question. If the United States and the U.S.S.R. as the two strongest countries to emerge from the Second World War can get along in the future, the peace of the world may be preserved. If they are unable to agree, the way may be paved for a third world war.

## Chapter Eight · The British Commonwealth-Empire

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### GEOPOLITICS OF AN EXTENDED DOMAIN

Politically the British Commonwealth-Empire is the most complex organization in the entire world. However, from a geographic point of view, the British Commonwealth-Empire occupies a position that has deep implications both in war and in peace. (*Figures 22 and 23.*) The areas under the British flag occupy one fourth of the earth's surface and embrace one half a billion people. At least 500 languages are spoken, although English is used by 95 per cent of the British citizen peoples. French is spoken in Quebec, and Afrikaans in the Union of South Africa. More than 200 languages are used in Africa and the West Indies by the African Negro peoples, while more than 200 languages are spoken by the Indian subjects of southern Asia. All racial groups are found within the circumference of the Commonwealth-Empire. The white peoples form the majority of the self-governing states of the Commonwealth, except for the Union of South Africa, where they number about one third. The black peoples are found in the British possessions in Africa and the West Indies, and small numbers of Indians of the North American type are found in Canada. The Far Eastern possessions of the Empire present a picturesque medley of peoples, with Chinese, Indians, Malays, and English among the population of Singapore.

Almost all types of climate are represented within the areas under the British flag: from the tropical rain-forest of southeastern

Asia to the low-latitude desert of Australia, from the tropical savannas of India to the low-latitude steppe of northeastern Australia, from the marine west coast of New Zealand to the subarctic climate of central Quebec, from the humid continental climate of Southern Manitoba to the humid subtropical climate of eastern Australia.

All types of physical features are encountered in the Empire. There are the mountainous islands of the West Indies and the Solomons, the coral islands of the South Seas and the Indian Ocean, the desert of the Kalahari in Africa and the great desert areas in Australia, the high, rugged mountains of western Canada, and the low Penine Highlands of the mother country, the Deccan Plateau of India, and the east coast lowlands of Natal.

All stages of economic development, too, are found within the Commonwealth-Empire from the primitive agriculture of the African natives to the great financial activities of London.

Almost all the major religions are found under the British flag: the whites of the Commonwealth are Christians, chiefly Protestants; the natives of India are largely Hindus, although the Moslems compose one fourth of the population; the Burmese are Buddhists; the natives of Africa and British New Guinea are mostly pagans. All types of government are represented, from the self-governing dominions of the Commonwealth to certain dependencies like Gibraltar, which are under absolute rule.

Peoples of many historical backgrounds are united under the Union Jack: the

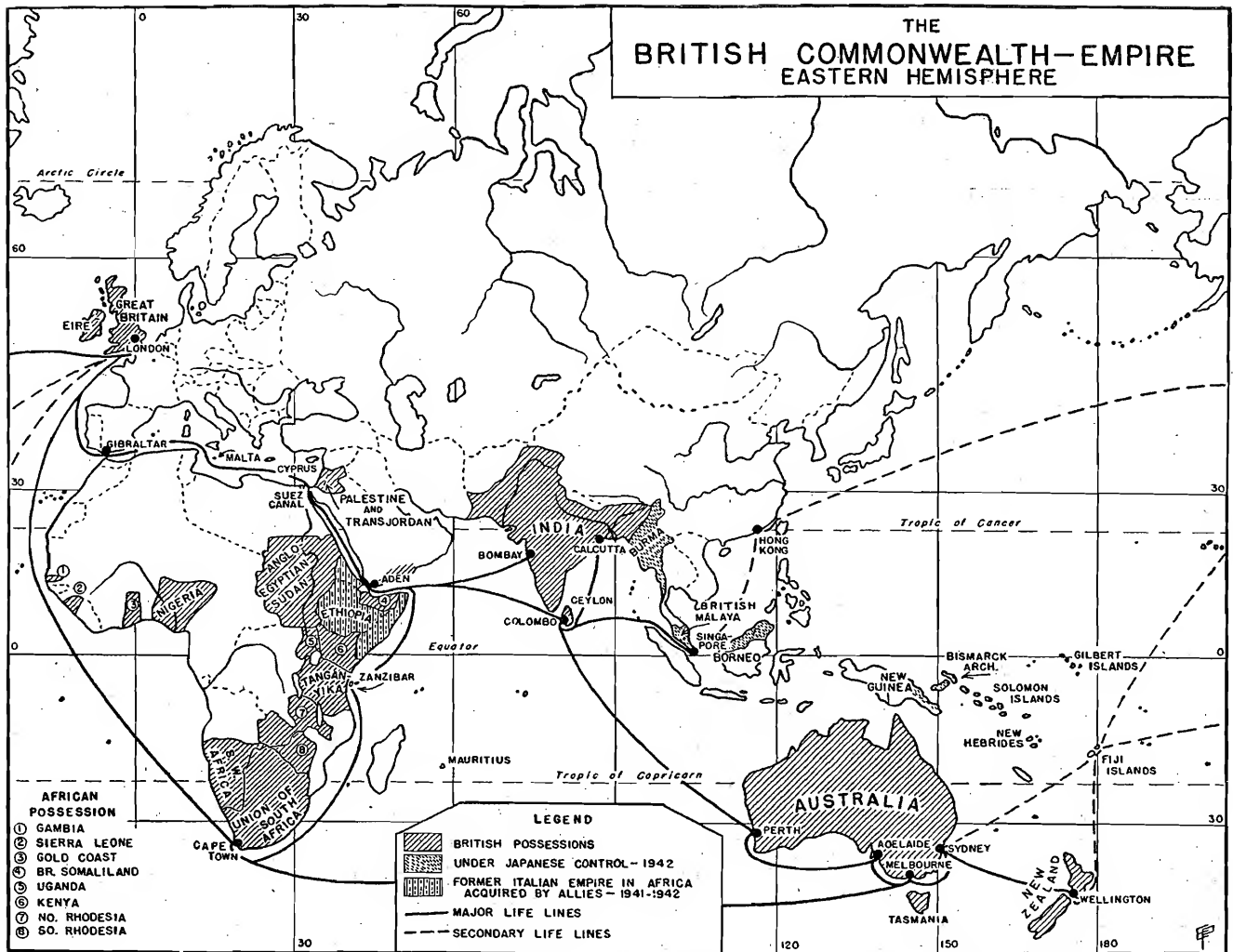


FIG. 22 · BRITISH COMMONWEALTH-EMPIRE: EASTERN HEMISPHERE  
Britain's life lines are supplemented by many routes to non-British lands

French of Quebec are a remnant of the French Empire in Canada prior to 1763; the Boers of South Africa represent the old Dutch rule prior to British acquisition during the Napoleonic Wars; Hong Kong, a former island possession of China, is a product of the Opium War of 1840-2; the Indian Empire represents a varied historical background with the continual invasions of northwestern India through the Khyber Pass; Zanzibar has the Moslem traditions of an Arab empire; the Sierra Leone is a home on the West African coast for freed slaves; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has the tradition of the fanatical Mahdi; Malta is

the historic home of the Knights of St. John; Palestine is sacred to the faiths of the Jews, Christians, and Moslems; the West Indies were seized from the Spanish in the days of the buccaneers; in Newfoundland Sir Humphrey Gilbert planted the first colony of the British Empire; the Channel Islands are now under Nazi rule, but formerly were remnants of a British Empire in France; Tanganyika, on the east coast of Africa, has the German background of the Kaiser; the condominium of the New Hebrides reflects the rivalry of France and Great Britain in the southwest Pacific; Australia was a place for convicts from Great Britain.

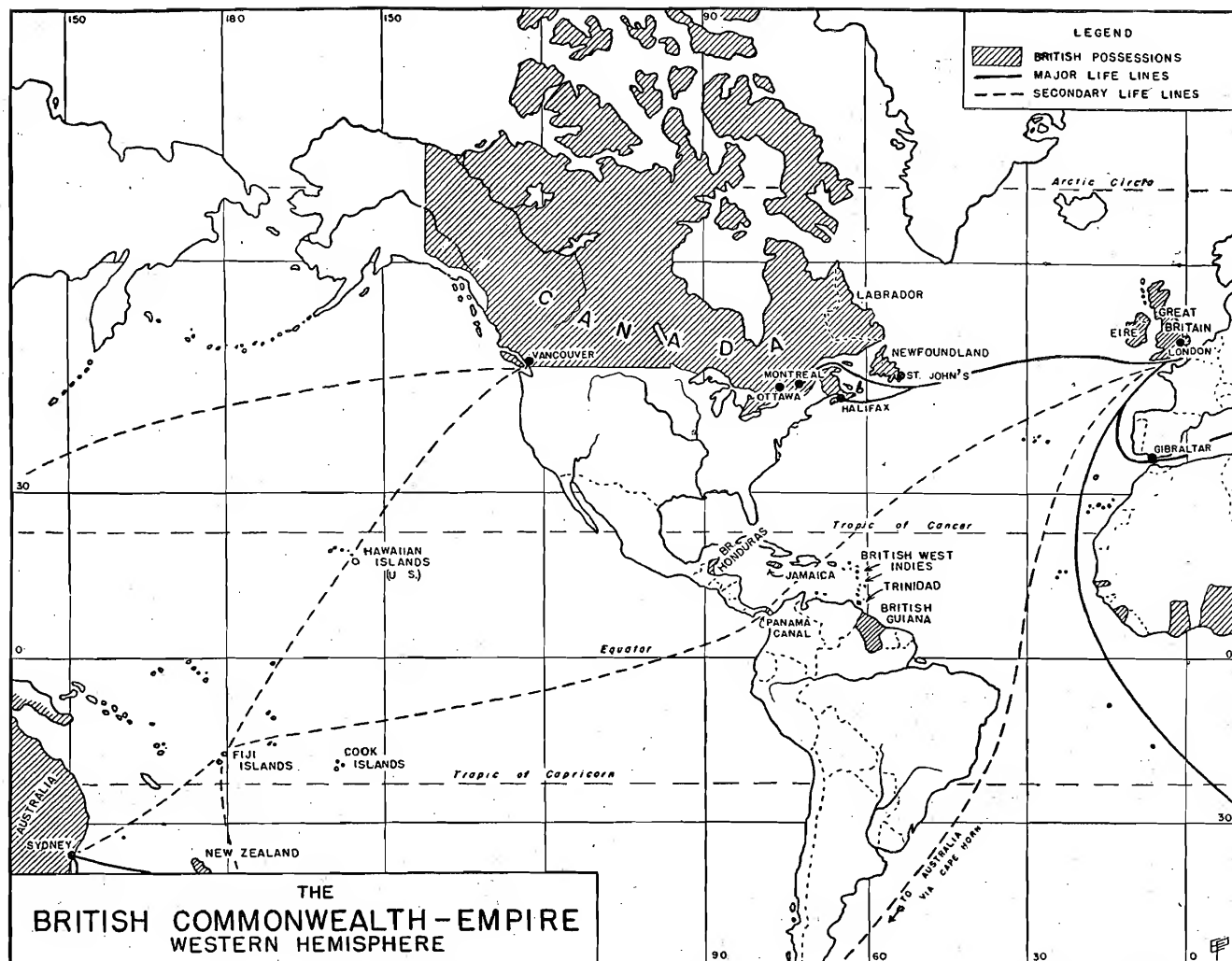


FIG. 23 · BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: WESTERN HEMISPHERE · The Mercator's Projection shows the extended domain of Britain to best advantage

after the loss of the Thirteen Colonies in North America; Singapore was the great British naval base off the tip of Malaya, associated with the famous name of Raffles; Cyprus for years was under the Turkish flag, with a Greek population loyal to Greece; Eire, with its strict policy of neutrality in the present war, reflects the enmities of the past; the Rhodesias are named after the great empire-builder, Cecil Rhodes; Sarawak was under Rajah Brooke, the descendant of an Englishman who acquired part of the area in 1842; and the United Kingdom itself reflects the unity of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland

through a long period of historical development.

The geographical position of the British Commonwealth-Empire is a factor significant in war and peace. The distribution of the British areas among the continents is as follows:

	SQUARE MILES
In North America	3,892,399
In Africa	3,820,274
In Australia and Oceania	3,278,917
In Asia (excluding the mandates)	2,126,263
In Europe (including the British Isles)	121,758
In Central and South America and the West Indies	115,815
Total	13,355,426

**Table 2 · Composition of the British Commonwealth-Empire (1943 Status)**

PART I · THE COMMONWEALTH (DOMINIONS)					PART II · THE DEPENDENCIES (continued)				
NAME	POLITICAL COMPOSITION	AREA IN SQ. MI.	POPULATION	POP. DENSITY (PERSONS PER SQ. MI.)	NAME	STATUS	LOCATION (GENERAL)	AREA IN SQ. MI.	POPULATION
United Kingdom	England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland	94,275	47,000,000	495	British Solomons	Protectorate (scene of U.S.-Japanese conflict, 1942-43)	East of New Guinea	11,460	95,000
Eire (Irish Free State)	Ireland, excluding Northern Ireland	27,000	3,000,000	110	Fiji Islands	Colony and protectorate	Southwest Pacific Ocean	7,080	205,000
Canada	9 provinces, Yukon and Northwest Territories	3,690,000	11,400,000	3	New Hebrides	Condominium (England and France)	Northeast of Australia	5,700	43,000
Australia	6 states (including Tasmania) and Northern Territory	2,975,000	6,960,000	2.5	Bermuda	Colony	Atlantic Ocean east of North Carolina	19	3,000
New Zealand	North Island and South Island	103,000	1,600,000	15.5	Bahamas	Colony	Off southeastern coast of Florida	4,400	71,475
Union of South Africa	Cape of Good Hope, Orange Free State, Natal, and Transvaal	472,500	10,150,000	21.5	Jamaica	Colony	West Indies (Greater Antilles)	4,500	1,200,000
PART II · THE DEPENDENCIES*					Barbados	Colony	West Indies (Lesser Antilles)	166	198,000
					Trinidad (and Tobago)	Colony	Off northeast coast of Venezuela	1,975	480,000
					British Honduras	Colony	East coast of Central America	8,600	60,000
					British Guiana	Colony	North coast of South America	89,500	345,000
					Falkland Islands	Colony	Off east coast of Argentina	4,618	2,400
					PART III · SPECIAL CATEGORY				
					NAME	POLITICAL COMPOSITION OR STATUS	AREA IN SQ. MI.	POPULATION	
Indian Empire	British India and Native States	1,575,000	380,000,000						
Southern Rhodesia	Semi-Dominion (near status of dominionhood)	105,350	1,350,000						
Newfoundland	Dominion in abeyance; governed by commission	42,750	292,000						
Labrador	Dependency of Newfoundland	110,000	4,700						
PART IV · BRITISH POSSESSIONS LOST TO JAPAN, 1941-1942									
NAME	BRITISH STATUS OR COMPOSITION	AREA IN SQ. MI.	POPULATION	STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE					
Hong Kong	Colony	400	1,070,000	Entrepôt to Southern China					
Malay Peninsula	a. Straits Settlements b. Federated Malay States c. Unfederated Malay States	52,000	5,000,000	Base of Singapore Rubber and tin					
Burma	Colony	233,000	14,700,000	Gateway from India to China (Burma Road) Oil fields					
Andaman and Nicobar islands	Governed from India (Province)	3,143	30,000	Guards Strait of Malacca					
Borneo	a. British North Borneo b. Brunei c. Sarawak	31,000 2,500 42,000	275,000 37,000 443,000	Oil fields and potential tropical wealth					
Territory of New Guinea (Mandated)	a. Northeastern New Guinea† b. Bismarck Archipelago† c. Solomon Islands†	91,000	755,000	Stepping stones to Australia					
Territory of Papua	Dependency of Australia	90,500	275,000	Stepping stone to Australia					
Gilbert and Ellice islands†	Colony	180	32,000	Edge of Japanese Mandated Islands					

\* A few dependencies of small area and lesser strategic importance omitted.

† Areas of Japanese Allied conflict 1942-1943. Some areas retaken, including islands in the Solomon and Gilbert groups and parts of New Guinea.

\* A few dependencies of small area and lesser strategic importance omitted.  
† Areas of Japanese Allied conflict 1942-1943. Some areas retaken, including islands in the Solomon and Gilbert groups and parts of New Guinea.



More than nine tenths of the land area of the Commonwealth-Empire is in southern Asia, Australia, North America, and southern and eastern Africa. The big areas are Canada and Newfoundland, Africa from the Sudan to the Cape of Good Hope, Australia with British New Guinea, and India with Ceylon. Other large units are Nigeria, the British Isles, and New Zealand, with areas varying from 100,000 to 370,000 square miles. Other units embracing 50,000 to 100,000 square miles each are British Malaya, British Guiana, Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti, and British Somaliland. In contrast, the smallest unit is Gibraltar, with an area of less than two square miles.

Since the British Commonwealth-Empire is concentrated around the oceans, it may be divided into the North Atlantic lands and the Indian Ocean lands. The North Atlantic lands, with a combined area of 4,130,000 square miles, are the British Isles, Canada and Newfoundland, the British West Indies, British Honduras, and British Guiana. The Indian Ocean lands, comprising 8,620,000 square miles, are in southern and eastern Africa, including British Somaliland, in southern Asia, including the Bahrein Islands and northern Borneo and Aden, in Australia and its dependencies, in New Zealand, and in the smaller islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Far less significant in area are the South Atlantic possessions, comprising chiefly the West African dependencies, the Falkland Islands, and St. Helena. In the Mediterranean region are possessions such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. In the Far East is Hong Kong.

The British areas may also be considered from the viewpoint of latitude. The North Atlantic areas are for the most part in the higher latitudes, although the West Indies, British Honduras, and British Guiana are

largely within the tropics. Among the North Atlantic countries are some of the most northerly populated areas on earth. On the other hand, the Indian Ocean units, some of which are densely populated, lie within or just outside the tropics. Lands in the middle latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere are somewhat cooler than those in the middle latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere. The climate of southern New Zealand, for instance, is very similar to that of the British Isles, although New Zealand is much nearer the equator. However, most of the inhabited lands of the southern dominions are in the warm temperate zone, with much warmer summers than those in England but without the cold or cool winters of the North Atlantic areas. In the Indian Ocean the units of the Empire extend northward on both the east and the west shores of the ocean and far southward within the tropics. The North Atlantic states of the Commonwealth-Empire are separated from the subtropical and intertropical areas by a vast expanse of water. Moreover, in British Africa there is no break in the complete continuity of the intertropical and temperate lands.

A general division can be made between the Commonwealth and the Empire. This division is frequently used by Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The British Commonwealth consists of six self-governing dominions: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Eire, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. Three are in the Northern Hemisphere on the North Atlantic; three are in the Southern Hemisphere on the eastern and western sides of the Indian Ocean. The countries of the Commonwealth are chiefly insular or peninsular in location. The United Kingdom, Eire, Australia, and New Zealand are islands which are entirely

British; South Africa itself is a peninsula with British dependencies along four fifths of its 2000-mile land boundary; Canada, with a boundary of over 3,000 miles along the United States border, is neither insular nor peninsular. This land boundary is not only the most important in the British Commonwealth but it is also the only one where the British Commonwealth-Empire actually meets another world power.

The temperate areas of the Commonwealth are almost equally divided between the Northern and Southern hemispheres, with those in the Northern Hemisphere having six sevenths of the citizens. Less than half the area of the insular lands of the Commonwealth is in the temperate zone but five sixths of their citizens are there.

The location of the dependencies in southern Asia and Africa is almost entirely continental. As compared to the area of the Commonwealth in the temperate zone, which is 4,750,000 square miles, the British dependencies have an area of 5,800,000 square miles. An examination of the British dependencies reveals that 96 per cent of this area is between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south of the equator. The Indian Empire and other dependencies in southern Asia have an area of 1,960,000 square miles; South and East Africa, 2,850,000 square miles; West Africa, 493,000 square miles; the Mediterranean footholds, 3600 square miles; the British West Indies and British Honduras, 107,000 square miles; and the units in the South Atlantic Ocean, 5700 square miles; in the Indian Ocean there are 1000 square miles; and in the Pacific 200,000 square miles or a total of 5,620,300 square miles. In eastern Africa, from the Union of South Africa to Egypt, there are more than 2,500,000 square miles of land. In southern Asia another group of dependencies occupy two thirds of that area. Less than one tenth of the area of the dependen-

cies is West Africa, while approximately six sevenths of the total area are included in the Indian Ocean lands. The rest of the dependencies are small islands in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans. The eastern Pacific areas are the only regions on the globe where the British lack adequate possessions. The Hawaiian Islands of the United States are the most important island group of the great desert of the east Pacific. Since nine tenths of the lands of the dependencies are on Mackinder's world island, the dependencies are mainly continental in location — the whole peninsula of India, large parts of Indo-China, central and South Africa, and the extremities of Arabia.

The distribution of the lands under the British flag proves that the security of the Commonwealth-Empire has depended upon sea power. Especially after the battle of Trafalgar in 1805, the British fleet was a great police force in the world. In the First World War the British fleet was allied with the American, the Japanese, and the French. The German fleet, the only important enemy one, was never able to command the world ocean. After the battle of Jutland the Kaiser's fleet was not used offensively, but was scuttled by the Germans at Scapa Flow following the Armistice. In the Second World War the naval balance of power has been frequently changed. Most of the French fleet was eventually scuttled. Some units of the Italian fleet were destroyed in the war, some were seized by the Nazis, and some were surrendered to the Allies. The German fleet was used only in the invasion of Norway. The Japanese fleet has been confined to the western Pacific and the eastern Indian Ocean. The importance of the British fleet is well shown by the fact that the 21 miles of English Channel between Dover and Calais have never been crossed by the Führer. The British fleet commands the eastern Atlantic and the area

from Gibraltar to the eastern Indian Ocean, while the United States fleet commands the western Atlantic and the eastern Pacific. The exact boundary between the east and the west in the Atlantic Ocean is not clearly revealed, but Iceland is occupied by American forces and the Azores by British. Admiral Mahan long advocated the co-operation of the American and British fleets in the world ocean.

The important sea routes of the British Commonwealth-Empire are the North Atlantic route, connecting Canada and Great Britain, and the North Atlantic-Indian Ocean route, connecting Great Britain with the empire beyond Suez. The first route is less than 3000 miles long, but there are few people on the land along the way. The harbors of Iceland and Greenland possess little commercial importance in peacetime, although they are of strategic value in war. The French fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon lie south of Newfoundland near the western terminus of the North Atlantic route. The adherence of these islands to Vichy France for a long time aroused diplomatic problems in the Western Hemisphere. Since the North Atlantic seaway links the most important industrial members of the Commonwealth, it is the main route under the British flag. The seaways from the North Atlantic to the Indian Ocean areas are the "inland-sea route" via the Suez Canal, the "open-sea route" via the Cape of Good Hope, and the routes across the Pacific. The inland-sea route is the shortest seaway between Great Britain and India as well as a significant factor in the coastal trade from northwestern Europe to eastern Asia. Along the 1900 miles of the Mediterranean Sea is Gibraltar at the western entrance, Malta at the waist between the eastern and western basins, and the Suez Canal area at the eastern entrance. The British Mediterranean route crossed the im-

portant French route from metropolitan France to French North Africa and the Italian route from Italy to Libya and Italian East Africa. The open-sea route via the Cape uses the way-stations of Lisbon, the Madeiras, and the Cape Verde Islands, which are all under the Portuguese flag, or the harbor of Vigo and the Canary Islands, which are under the Spanish flag. Gibraltar and Gambia are less well located for this route, but Freetown in Sierra Leone has a good harbor and location. South of the equator and in the Indian Ocean the way-stations are British, with Cape Town in South Africa as the leading example. For 1000 miles north and east of Cape Town the ports are all British.

The trans-Pacific routes are of secondary significance to the British because the most important world regions are on the shores of the North Atlantic and because the British have no bases in the relatively islandless eastern portion of the Pacific. The important bases of the Panama area and the Hawaiian Islands are in American hands. British Columbia may be considered the western outpost of the Commonwealth, while the islands of the South Pacific may be considered the eastern outposts of the Commonwealth-Empire. The actual routes across the Pacific are direct from western Canada to New Zealand and Australia, from Canada to Hong Kong and Singapore, and from Great Britain via Cape Horn, or via the Panama Canal. Between Australia and Great Britain the Panama Canal route has no advantage in distance over the Suez or Cape routes.

The airways of the Commonwealth-Empire are also important both in peace and war. The Mediterranean route between Great Britain and the Indian Ocean lands is very important, with the chief gap south and southeast of London. Malta is 1200 miles from England by the most direct route,

while Gibraltar is too small, too much exposed to local violent winds, and too rugged for an airport. The great circle route from England to India is across Germany, Poland, and southern Russia. East of Malta the airways meet at Egypt, which is the most important junction of peacetime air routes of the Commonwealth-Empire. From here the routes trend south to Cape Town, or east across Trans-Jordan and Iraq to India and Australia. Before the outbreak of the war the North Atlantic and the east Pacific were the big gaps in the airways under the British flag. However, the Second World War has greatly developed the North Atlantic route.

The population of the Commonwealth-Empire is approximately 500 million, or roughly one fourth of the population of the world. Of this vast number, the citizen peoples under the British flag are barely one seventh or about 70,000,000. This is far below the figures for the United States and the U.S.S.R., but it is comparable to those for Germany and Japan. Furthermore, the citizen peoples of the Commonwealth-Empire are scattered around the world. There are 47 million people in the United Kingdom, with a density of about 495 per square mile; three million in Eire, with a density of 110 per square mile; about 12 million in the provinces of Canada, with a density of roughly three per square mile; about seven million in temperate Australia, with a density of about three per square mile; one and one-half million in New Zealand, with a density of 15 per square mile, and almost two million in the Union of South Africa, with a density of four per square mile. However, if the non-whites of the Union of South Africa are included, the population is ten million, with a density of 21 per square mile.

Among the dependencies, India has a population of 380 million, and other areas

in south Asia have 10 million, southern and eastern Africa 22 million, West Africa 26 million, the Mediterranean area 600,000, the British West Indies and British Honduras two million, the south Atlantic dependencies 6000, the Indian Ocean dependencies 430,000, and the Pacific Ocean dependencies 1,300,000, or a total of 442,336,000 people. Two thirds of the white people of the British Commonwealth-Empire are in the British Isles, but, except in South Africa, white people form a majority of the population of the Commonwealth. The island of Great Britain itself has considerably more than half the total population of the Commonwealth. Five sixths of the white man power is found in the United Kingdom, Eire, Canada, and Newfoundland, while the other one sixth is found in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

The common language of English unites at least 95 per cent of the British citizen peoples, while the subject peoples lack this kind of unity. The British Commonwealth has about 1,250,000 square miles of cultivable land capable of producing the crops of the temperate zones. This is comparable to a similar area in the United States and probably in the U.S.S.R. However, at least one half the cultivable land of the Commonwealth lies in the north temperate zone, where the length of the growing season allows the production of only one crop a year. England herself, with more than 700 people per square mile, is one of the most densely peopled lands on earth, while most of the other members of the Commonwealth are under-populated, because they have too few inhabitants to utilize their natural resources to the best advantage. The lands of the dependencies have a greater potential agricultural productivity than those of the Commonwealth, since the cultivable area of the former is about two million square miles, and the growing season, except for the

possibility of drought, generally extends throughout the year.

The government of the lands under the British flag is a political laboratory of a complexity such as the world has never seen. The King is the symbol of unity of both the Commonwealth and the Empire. His title is "George VI, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." The King acts upon the advice of his ministers, who are responsible to Parliament and to the courts. Therefore the King is responsible to several sets of ministers, as in Ottawa, Wellington, Canberra, or London. It was stated on page 147 that a general division is made between the Commonwealth and the Empire, and that the Commonwealth consists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, Eire, the Union of South Africa, and the Dominion of New Zealand. Canada, the oldest of the dominions, was established in 1867, Australia in 1901, New Zealand in 1907, South Africa in 1909, and Eire in 1921. Newfoundland was formerly a dominion, but through financial troubles she reverted to the status of a crown colony. Southern Rhodesia has achieved many of the aspects of dominionhood. It is possible that other areas of the Empire, such as India, Ceylon, and Burma, may eventually become dominions.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 gave formal recognition to the independence of the dominions of the Commonwealth of Nations. This was later expressed by Parliament in the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The dominions are "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to the other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by com-

mon allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In the Second World War each dominion except Eire declared war on Germany in the name of the King of its own free accord. On September 3, 1939, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland went to war with the Reich, followed shortly by Australia and New Zealand; Canada declared war on September 10, by an almost unanimous vote of Parliament; South Africa entered the war by a vote of 80 to 67 in the House of Assembly, while General J. B. M. Hertzog was replaced by Jan C. Smuts as Prime Minister; Eire, though still a member of the Commonwealth, has remained neutral, denying her important naval bases to the British fleet and tolerating a German legation in Dublin.

The dominions of the Commonwealth can send representatives to other countries. For instance, the King is represented in Washington by ambassadors from the United Kingdom and Canada and by ministers from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Eire, and by a High Commissioner from India. Australia and New Zealand sent representatives to Washington only after the outbreak of the war. Any British dominion can secede from the Commonwealth, but none of them, not even Eire, has exercised this right. A dominion can impose tariffs and conclude treaties. A treaty of Great Britain has no legal effect upon the Commonwealth unless each member accepts the treaty for itself. In spite of the powers of the dominions, the Commonwealth has remained united, as is well shown in the voluntary entrance of the self-governing units into the Second World War and by the loyalty to the mother country after Dunkerque.

The ties uniting the realm of King George VI are many: one of the most

important is common loyalty to a common ruler. When "God save the King" is played, one fourth of the people of the world would theoretically rise, although the sentiment to the throne is strongest in the member countries of the Commonwealth. Another factor uniting the Commonwealth is historical tradition and heritage. The peoples of Australia and New Zealand have almost entirely an English background. Canada was acquired from France as early as 1763, while the British of South Africa have always been loyal to the King. The British navy, patrolling the world ocean, has always been a tangible factor of unity. Some of the units of the Commonwealth, such as Canada and Australia, have in recent years begun the construction of small navies of their own. The members of the Commonwealth realize that their strength lies in unity, since each one of them could not face alone the power of Germany or Japan. The English language spoken throughout the white portion of the Commonwealth is another powerful tie, while the radio is a new factor uniting the peoples. As a grand finale to one of the Christmas Day addresses given by King George VI, listeners heard "God Save the King" sung all around the world through the magic of radio. Trade is another vital link in the Commonwealth. Although the members have frequently erected tariff barriers against one another, trade within the Commonwealth is still extensive. The British have learned from the disastrous experience of the American Revolution that the unity of the white citizen peoples of the Commonwealth lies in self-government.

The British dependencies are those parts of the world which are not states of the Commonwealth but are dependent upon them for government. These governing states are Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The depend-

encies include the Indian Empire, the crown colonies, the protectorates, the mandates, and the condominiums. India is geographically a subcontinent of Asia with an area of over 1,575,000 square miles and a population of approximately 380,000,000. The King of England is the Emperor of India. The country is divided into British India, having eleven provinces directly under the Crown and subject to the King Emperor and his Viceroy, and the "native states," which include some 600 separate units ruled by native princes who acknowledge the Crown as the "paramount power." The "native states" account for 27 per cent of the area of India and 17 per cent of the population. Religious, social, and economic divisions are clear-cut in this subcontinent. About two thirds of the population are Hindus; these are rigidly divided into castes and subcastes, with 60 million in the group called "untouchables." The Moslems number about one fourth of the population and are located largely in Bengal and the northwest sections of the country, especially Bombay. Frequent clashes occur between the Moslems and the Hindus, with the British having to intervene in order to preserve peace. More than 70 per cent of the Indian people live by agriculture on small farms. Heavily in debt and very near the starvation line, they possess a very low standard of living. Thousands died of starvation in Bengal during the summer and fall of 1943. Progress in medicine and sanitation, along with a reduction of the danger of famine by irrigation and the construction of railroads, does not affect the high birth rate. The development of industry, especially of textiles, in Bombay and Calcutta has added industrial exploitation to the problems of India, which is not the rich country exemplified by some of the native princes. Coal, iron, and manganese are found in the country. These help to



form the basis for a small but growing iron industry. It is doubtful if India possesses the natural resources essential for an industrial civilization comparable to a present world power.

India is one of the greatest problems of the present day, with the conflict between the British Government and the Indian organizations over self-government very pronounced. The Congress Party of India called the "India Nationalist Congress" has led the movement against British control under the leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi. A new constitution for India, enacted by the British Parliament in 1935, provided provincial government in British India. In 1937 the Congress Party filled eight of the eleven ministries. The constitution also provided for a federal legislature to represent the British Provinces and the "native states." The Congress Party has opposed the federation scheme, stating that it recognized and strengthened the hold of the princes and that it prevented the Indians from having any real power in the central government. The princes and the Moslem League, on the other hand, were fearful of Congress rule. Therefore this part of the constitution never went into effect. With the declaration of India as a belligerent by the British in September, 1939, the constitution was suspended and the Viceroy was told to govern under emergency powers. The British have promised dominion status to India as soon as possible, but they have refused to turn the government entirely over to the Indians in the crisis of the Second World War. On the other hand, the Congress leaders, placing little faith in British pledges, have sought to force the issue during the war. The failure of the Sir Stafford Cripps Mission in 1942 was caused by the inability of the British and the Indians to reconcile their divergent viewpoints. Meanwhile the Japanese menace to India ap-

peared with the capture of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the fall of Burma, and the bombing of Madras, Calcutta, and the island of Ceylon.

The crown colonies of the British Empire may be divided into three general classes: first, those having a substantial degree of responsible government with the legislature wholly or partly elected and the executive council appointed by the Crown or government (as in the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Mauritius); second, those with both the legislative and executive councils appointed (Ceylon and the Straits Settlements); and third, those with legislative and executive powers vested in the government (Gibraltar and St. Helena). Of course, the war has greatly changed the existing form of government in many cases. Ceylon has been promised much more self-government, while Malta has demonstrated its loyalty to the Crown. The best example of the complexity of British colonial government is shown in the Malay Peninsula before the Japanese conquest. The government had the following divisions: the Straits Settlements (a Crown Colony of Singapore with Labuan Island, Christmas Island, Cocos Islands, Penang with Province Wellesley and the Dindings, and Malacca); the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang as British protectorates); and the other five Unfederated Malay states (Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Trengganu as under British suzerainty). The governor of the Straits Settlements was High Commissioner of the peninsula, while each of the Malay states, whether federated or not, had its own ruler aided by a state council.

Below the crown colonies are the protectorates governed by their own rulers but subject to the restrictions of the protecting power through the resident, agent or political officer. Examples of these are Bechuana-

land, Basutoland, Swaziland, and Uganda in Africa, and Tonga Island in the Pacific. The mandates are lands taken from the defeated countries of the First World War and intrusted by the League of Nations to the victorious powers. They are classed as A mandates with the idea of eventual independence after preparation for self-government by the ruling power, B mandates as capable of some degree of self-government, and C mandates, governed as an integral part of the ruling country. Four self-governing units of the British Commonwealth have acquired mandates; the Union of South Africa received German Southwest Africa as a C mandate; Great Britain acquired parts of Togoland and the Cameroons as well as Tanganyika as B mandates in Africa; Australia acquired the German area of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago as a C mandate; and New Zealand acquired German Samoa also as a C mandate while the island of Nauru, important for phosphates, was granted as a similar mandate to Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain. Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq, former areas of Turkey, were made mandates of Great Britain. The final type of government in the British Commonwealth-Empire is the condominium, an area under the joint government of two nations. The Sudan under Britain and Egypt and the New Hebrides under Britain and France are examples of this type of government. Outside the Union Jack some historians refer to Tibet, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt as the "Outer Rim of the Empire."

A geopolitical discussion of the British Isles, Australia, and Canada is especially valuable in view of the special relationship of these three units of the Commonwealth to the United States. The British Isles, the heart of the Commonwealth-Empire, are divided from a political viewpoint chiefly between the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Northern Ireland and the dominion of Eire. English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish are the peoples of the British Isles. The population of the United Kingdom is 46,000,000 and of Eire about 3,000,000.

The industrial strength of the United Kingdom is based chiefly on the coal and iron resources. The chief centers of coal production are: the Midlands, about Manchester and Birmingham, the south coast of Wales about Swansea, the basin of the River Tyne about Newcastle, and Scotland between Glasgow and Edinburgh. Iron ore is mined through the eastern and southern interior of Great Britain, about Glasgow on the west coast, and also north of Liverpool. Since the average east-to-west width of Great Britain is less than 150 miles and no place is as much as 80 miles from tidewater, all the coal fields and industrial areas are near the sea. The production of iron and steel is now centered round Teesmouth, in the Scottish lowlands, and on the Yorkshire and south Wales coal fields. The great textile areas are in Lancashire and in West Yorkshire. Heavy chemicals are made chiefly in south Lancashire and in Teesmouth.

The industrial areas are in Mid-Britain, at the nearest point only some 200 miles from Calais. The metropolitan region of London lies midway between the southeast edge of industrial Britain and the nearest part of the continent. Ten million people, or more than one fifth of the total population of the island, live in the metropolitan areas of Greater London. London is a commercial and financial city, the center of government and economic organization, the chief node of the railroad and highway system, and the largest importing port of Britain. The center of London is hardly more than 60 miles from Dover; some of the suburbs are within long-cannon-range of the continent.

Great Britain depends upon her overseas possessions for a large portion of her food-

stuffs and for some important raw materials for her industries. A blockade of food imports for even a short time would mean a famine. Of the 120,000 square miles of the British Isles not more than one half is cultivable, while distance from the equator is responsible for a short growing season. Since a large concentration of the population is in the southeast part of Great Britain and since the people are dependent on overseas for many of their supplies, the narrow straits to the southeast are very important, as are also the western approaches: the sea between the south coast of Ireland and north coast of Brittany, over which come most of the imports.

Great Britain is located almost at the center of the land hemisphere. Before the discovery of America, this factor had little significance, but later it became very important. Physically the British Isles, lying on the continental shelf of northwest Europe, are separated from the continent by the shallow seas caused by the flooding of part of the lowland since the last Ice Age. A slight change in the relative level of land and water would again unite the British Isles and the European mainland. Westward along the English Channel for 300 miles the distance increases until Cornwall and Brittany are separated by over 100 miles. North from Dover the sea separates the Netherlands from East Anglia by over 100 miles. It is 400 miles from Scotland to Jutland, but only 200 miles from the Shetland Islands to western Norway to the north. The Strait of Dover is the busiest channel in the world. Great Britain lies on the "Ocean Gate" of Europe between Brittany and Norway. It has, in addition, a large number of good natural harbors. Although the iron reserves of the United Kingdom are extensive for her industrial establishments, petroleum is a product which Britain lacks. Indeed, throughout the British Common-

wealth-Empire petroleum is generally lacking, with Trinidad the largest single oil-producing unit under the flag.

The British Isles must depend upon the areas overseas in order to be a world power. Within the Commonwealth-Empire are most of the reserves in motive power and resources in raw materials and foodstuffs necessary for self-sufficiency. In the dark hours of June, 1940, Prime Minister Churchill realized this factor when he told the House of Commons: "We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the Old."

The greatest test of the British came in the Battle of Britain in 1940. The army was all but broken from the campaign on the continent; the air force was weak; only the Royal Navy was strong. The Nazis, however, delayed the invasion, perhaps a great mistake. In August, 1940, the first large-scale air raids began on the ports and cities of Britain. The daylight raids reached a climax in September, 1940, when the British planes defeated the greatest mass air attacks to that date. Afterwards mass attacks were reserved for the dark hours of the night. Many British cities were pounded by bombs — London, Liverpool, Southampton, Plymouth, Coventry, and Man-

chester. The worst raids on London came with the spring of 1941. Yet it became evident that Britain could not be defeated from the air.

Equally important was the Battle of the North Atlantic. The United States in 1939 set up a "neutrality patrol" off the coast of America. The ships may have informed the British of German raiders and U-boats. By 1941 the United States was patrolling "hemisphere" waters, which might be interpreted as extending for 2300 miles from the American coast line. In April, 1941, Greenland was occupied, and in July, Iceland was occupied. Convoys were probably escorted by American vessels to Iceland and thence by British vessels for the 800 miles to Scotland. Five weeks after Pearl Harbor, the U-boats began systematically to sink ships off eastern North America, while the destruction of Allied merchant shipping in the Western Hemisphere became grave in the summer of 1942. By the fall of 1943 the submarine menace had greatly subsided in the North Atlantic. In late 1943, Portugal granted Britain naval and air bases in the Azores, 2300 miles from New York and 1043 miles from Lisbon. These bases are valuable for patrol activities to the east and west, protecting Allied ships laden with goods for the newly-opened Mediterranean route.

Australia is the great British dominion "down under." The area of the Commonwealth is equal to that of the United States, or 60 times that of England, but the population is 7,000,000, comparable to that of New York City. Three fourths of the people live within 50 miles of the sea, chiefly in southeastern Australia from Brisbane to Adelaide. A White Australia policy has been pursued to preserve the racial integrity of the state. Since Australia has no land frontier, she is interested especially in the oceans which separate her from the rest of

the world. From San Francisco to Honolulu it is 2405 miles; from Honolulu to Sydney, it is 5083 miles; from Darwin to Singapore it is 2262 miles; and from Sydney to Wellington it is 1419 miles. India and China are more than 3500 miles away from north-western Australia, while South Africa is 5000 miles away.

The three physiographic regions of Australia are the Western Plateau, covering more than half of the island and consisting chiefly of desert; the East Australian Highlands, stretching from Cape York to Tasmania with a width from 100 to 250 miles, and having in the far south of New South Wales Mount Kosciusko, 7328 feet in height, the highest point in Australia; and the Great Plains, extending from the south coast to the Gulf of Carpentaria on the north and lying between the Eastern Highlands and the plateau in western Australia. Nearly two fifths of the Commonwealth lies within the tropics. The people of Darwin live in a tropical savanna. A little more than one eighth of extra-tropical Australia contains an area of about 120 million acres of good cultivable land. Since the mean density of population is scarcely 2.16 per square mile, Australia is the most thinly-peopled state in the civilized world. This is due not only to the desert and poor lands but also to remoteness from Europe during the great floods of immigration in the 1800's.

The six state capitals of Australia combined have 49 per cent of the total population of the continent. Following are the names of the capitals and the percentage of their population in each state: Sydney, 50 per cent of New South Wales, Melbourne, 56 per cent of Victoria, Brisbane, 32 per cent of Queensland, Adelaide, 56 per cent of South Australia, Perth, 49 per cent of Western Australia, and Hobart, 26 per cent of Tasmania.

The oldest colony in Australia is New South Wales, which came under the British flag in 1788 by virtue of discovery and colonization. Each of the colonies began as a coastal settlement or small unit of such settlements; each tried to expand toward the interior. The federation of these colonies did not occur until 1901. Western Australia has frequently talked about secession from the Commonwealth. Canberra is the capital of the country and is located in Federal Territory. The occupations of the people are growing wheat, raising sheep, manufacturing in the east, and the mining of gold, coal, silver, and lead. Australia suffers from the lack of uniformity of railroad gauges; there are three different gauges. One important railroad runs from Perth in the west to Sydney in the east; another runs along the eastern side of the continent from northern Queensland to Melbourne; the central sector of the one north-south trans-continental railroad from Darwin to Adelaide has not been completed. Since Australia is deficient in petroleum, General MacArthur must get his oil from California or Iran. The dependencies of Australia are three-fold: the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory within Australia; Papua and Norfolk Island and the Australian sector of the south polar lands; and, finally, the Territory of New Guinea, with the Bismarck Archipelago as a mandate from the League of Nations.

The problems of defense in Australia are mainly naval, since this Commonwealth is an insular country with a population concentrated along the coast. The smallness of the population has made it impossible for the country to make adequate provisions for defense against a large naval power. The vast extent of the Commonwealth, along with the weakness of internal communications, hinders the concentration of land forces to oppose an attack. Australia

was keenly interested in the first-class naval base at Singapore, while her own chief naval base is at Sydney. The nearest foreign territory to southeastern Australia and New Zealand was New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands under the French flag and the New Hebrides under French and British control. Since France was a continental European state, Australia was not threatened by the nearness of the Tricolor. Japanese conquest of the Netherlands Indies placed the flag of the Rising Sun near the northern border of the Commonwealth. The landing of American troops "down under," the recall of Australian forces from Egypt, and the Battle of the Coral Sea were factors in the preservation of Australia for the Allied cause. The future of Australia after the defeat of Japan lies in its close co-operation not only with the motherland in Europe but also with the leading naval power in the Pacific, the United States.

The New Guinea Mandate, consisting of the former German possessions in the area, was granted to Australia in 1920. It has three subdivisions: northeastern New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago with New Britain, New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands, and, finally, the two northern Solomon Islands, Bougainville and Buka. The whole area is largely undeveloped, although gold, silver, and platinum have been found and coconut plantations have been established. One of the most difficult problems is the development of transportation in the area. Since the New Guinea Mandate became a battlefield in the southwest Pacific, several towns have received special mention in the press: Salamaua and Lae, Madang and Wewak in northeastern New Guinea, Rabaul and Kavieng in the Bismarck Archipelago, and Kieta and Empress Augusta Bay in the northern Solomons.

The unique role of Canada as a link in

the North Atlantic between the United States and Great Britain is highly significant. Canada and the United States have a common historical background, the United States breaking her ties with England in the American Revolution, and Canada gradually acquiring independence through the years. Prime Minister Churchill realized the importance of Canada's role when he said to the Canadian House of Commons on December 30, 1941: "Canada, sir, occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States." Both Washington and Ottawa have a fundamental faith in democracy as a way of life.

Many other similarities are evident in the two countries. The geographical features of North America transcend the political boundaries of the two countries. The Appalachians extend through eastern United States and into the Maritime Provinces of Canada, the vast interior continental plains extend through both countries from north to south regardless of political frontier, the American Rockies are continued in the Canadian Rockies, while the Pacific province of British Columbia has many geographic features similar to the American states of Washington and Oregon. Likewise, the Oriental problem in British Columbia has not only embittered relations between the white and yellow races but also has affected the relations between the province and the dominion government. The same can be said about the three Pacific states of the great republic to the south. The economic life of Canada and the United States has a common foundation with similar economic issues. The disposal of agricultural surpluses, the problem of farm debts, the tariff question, the dangers of rapid industrialization — all these are familiar to Americans and Canadians alike. President Roosevelt's

New Deal of 1933, with its unemployment insurance and relief, minimum wages and maximum hours, old-age pensions, housing projects, and public works is similar to Prime Minister Bennett's New Deal of 1935. Another important factor uniting the two nations is the threat to their security from the Axis aggressors in the Atlantic and Pacific. The growing friendship between London and Washington has correspondingly strengthened the ties between Ottawa and Washington.

On the other hand, several important differences exist between Canadian and American conditions. Canada is a country of only 12 million people as compared with the American population of 132 million. Although the dominion occupies a quarter of the area of the British Empire, it has only about one forty-fifth of its population. The Canadian people are concentrated along a narrow line next to the United States frontier. Ninety per cent of the Canadians live within 260 miles of the border and fifty per cent within 100 miles. The people of the dominion are separated by three general barriers: the Appalachians and the Maine boundary cutting off the Maritimes, the 800 miles of barren country caused by the meeting of the Laurentian Shield and the Great Lakes separating central Canada from the prairies, and the Rockies dividing the prairies from the Pacific coast. To some observers the dominion represents politics in conflict with geography. Three transcontinental railroads and one transcontinental airline connect eastern and western Canada. However, the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway with its connecting rivers links a large part of the country.

In the field of trade Canada ranked sixth in the world of 1936. In 1938 she was first in the world production of asbestos, nickel, and newsprint, third in copper, gold, and zinc ore, fourth in lead, fifth in wheat, and



sixth in automobiles. The total trade between the dominion and the United States is four fifths as large as the total trade between Latin America and the United States. Normally Canada is the best customer of the United States. In 1940 she bought 750 million dollars' worth of goods from this country. The United States has more money invested in the dominion than in any other country in the world, namely \$3,932,000,000. Furthermore, Washington depends upon Ottawa for its nickel supply, a factor of importance in a world war.

The United States exports normally 10 per cent of its goods, while Canada exports 30 per cent of its production. This reveals the dependence of Canadian economy upon world trade and world conditions. From an economic viewpoint, Canada is more closely tied to North America than to any other continent in total trade and total investments. The United States and Great Britain between them account for almost 80 per cent of Canada's total trade and almost all her indebtedness. The dominion, however, buys more from the United States than she sells to her, while Canada sells more to the United Kingdom than she buys from it. The dominion can never be self-supporting because of her dependence upon outside sources for oil, cotton, sugar, rubber, tin, and manganese. It is possible that the Norman oil wells of the Mackenzie Valley will alter the petroleum situation to some extent. If Canada should lose her European market alone, she would be faced with great unemployment and financial collapse. For instance, in the case of wheat, the collapse of world prices in 1929, followed in 1939 by the outbreak of the Second World War, has created a grave situation. In 1940 a bumper crop of 550,000,000 bushels was added to a considerable wheat carry-over.

Although the dominion through her membership in the League of Nations and in the

British Commonwealth was more involved in foreign affairs than the United States, the French Canadians in particular are more like Americans in their sympathy for isolation. The people of Quebec, like their neighbors to the south, were subjected to a violent breach from their European ties. The French Canadians exercise a decisive voice in the dominion with their population of 30 per cent and their self-government, French language, and Roman Catholic religion. In fact, they possess a "granite-like cultural integrity." Although the French Canadians support independence from the United States, they moderate the pro-British enthusiasm of the imperialists in the dominion. The United Empire Loyalist tradition, on the other hand, formed by the Loyalists who went to New Brunswick and Ontario after the Revolution, has been more anti-American than even the prejudices of the British immigrants. In view of this complex situation, Mr. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, holds his power largely because he is an able negotiator and a reconciler of varying opinions as well as a shrewd traveler along the middle road.

Canadian nationalism has been growing in the economic as well as the political field. In 1859 Canada achieved the right of an independent tariff policy; in 1932 at the Ottawa Conference an attempt was made to increase the economic interdependence and self-sufficiency of the Commonwealth-Empire countries as a whole; in 1935 and 1938 Canadian-American trade agreements marked the end of this concept. In 1848 Canada achieved responsible government; in 1867 the dominion was organized, and in 1931 the Statute of Westminster defined the status of the dominions within the Empire; in 1923 Canada by herself negotiated the new Halibut Treaty with the United States. The division in the country between nationalists and imperialists no longer runs strictly

on racial lines. The development of Canadian nationalism has greatly improved United States-Canadian relations, since London and Washington can no longer consider the country as a "no man's land" between them. In fact, the growth of Canadian nationalism makes extremely doubtful the merging of Canada and the United States in a political union.

The problems of the close geographical position of the two countries have been peacefully solved ever since the Treaty of Ghent. The first is the boundary issue, the cause of friction for so many nations throughout the world. The Treaty of Paris, in 1783, settled the general position of the frontier; the eastern boundaries were finally defined in the St. Croix River settlement of 1798, the Passamaquoddy Islands decision of 1817, and the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, which also drew the frontier through the Great Lakes along the 49th parallel to the Rockies; the Oregon boundary was settled in 1846, the line was drawn through the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1872, and the Alaskan award of 1903 ended the general problem of demarcation. Although the settlements have not always been satisfying to both sides (the United States was probably the loser in the Maine boundary dispute of 1842 and Great Britain in the Oregon boundary of 1846), a tradition of arbitration has grown up. From the Civil War to the outbreak of the Second World War the boundary presented no obstacle to those who wanted to cross for travel or for business. Probably 30 million people crossed the boundary in the year 1931.

In the field of boundary waters a high degree of co-operation has been shown by the two nations. The Boundary Water Treaty of 1909 provided the basis for this. The official body that acts on these issues is the International Joint Commission of three Americans and three Canadians. Its juris-

diction is compulsory over the boundary waters, and it may settle any other dispute submitted to it by Washington and Ottawa. The St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and other boundary waters are all open to navigation to American and British ships and subjects on equal terms. President Roosevelt, as well as many other prominent Americans and Canadians, has been interested in providing the Great Lakes cities with a direct water route to the markets of the world without transshipment of cargoes because of the restricted size of the existing canals and locks. Furthermore, the improvement in navigation could also lead to a great development of electric power for both countries. On March 19, 1941, a new St. Lawrence Waterway agreement was signed, establishing a joint board of ten members to supervise the works planned in the International Rapids section of the river. It will develop 2,700,000 horsepower in the aggregate and provide a "deep waterway" with a 27-foot channel from Montreal to Lake Superior. The terms of the agreement will become effective by concurrent legislation of the Parliament of Canada and the Congress of the United States.

The fisheries question has been another problem between the two peoples. The most important arbitration was the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration of 1910, in which a Permanent Mixed Fishery Commission was ultimately set up in 1912. In the Pacific the Bering Sea Arbitration Award of 1893 settled the differences between Canada and the United States over seals; in 1923 the two countries negotiated a treaty (revised in 1930 and again in 1937) on the halibut of the North Pacific, setting up an International Fisheries Commission for the halibut industry; in 1930 a convention appointed another international commission to regulate the sockeye-salmon catch in the Fraser River system.

In the field of communications between the two nations, much progress has been made. The radio is a modern link of communication of recent development. The influence of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in uniting the parts of Canada is even greater than the influence of Yankee programs extending across the border. In December, 1940, a new agreement was reached providing for reciprocal treatment in the operation of air transport services between the two countries. By 1933 the rail carriers of Canada had acquired control or exercised trackage rights over 7312 miles of road in the United States, while American carriers had 1556 miles in Canada.

In intellectual co-operation the progress between the two countries is substantial. The exchange of college teachers and students, the international nature of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., the visits of friends and business associates, the motion pictures, radio broadcasts, magazines, and books, all show the communication of ideas. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs co-operates with the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the World Peace Foundation, and the Council on Foreign Relations. Conferences on Canadian-American Affairs have been organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The undefended frontier between the United States and Canada is an example of co-operation for the world. The Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 limited the naval vessels on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. In 1941 the agreement was given a new interpretation in order to permit larger naval vessels for training purposes on the Great Lakes and to allow the installation of armaments on vessels built in shipyards of similar location, provided the armaments are dismantled before the trip of the ships to the sea. In 1870 the British withdrew

their garrisons from Canada except from Halifax and Esquimalt. These last two were evacuated in 1905, leaving the Canadians responsible for their own defense.

The growing tension in Europe raised the problem of the attitude of the dominion as well as that of the United States in the event of a Second World War. Developments in the world between the two great conflicts seemed to emphasize the essential "North American quality" of Canadian foreign policy. Prime Minister MacKenzie King is the most North American-minded of Canadian prime ministers. Canada at no time played a leading role in international affairs in Europe. Her interests were conservative, while she supported the preservation of the status quo. The Pacific policy of the dominion was also conservative.

In 1938 President Roosevelt, in an address at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, on August 18, stated:

"The Dominion of Canada is a part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

The President's assertion in Canada raised the question as to whether the Monroe Doctrine applied to that area. In a statement to reporters President Roosevelt stated that the original Monroe Doctrine did apply to Canada. Professor Albert Hart had long written that Canada was not included in the field of the Monroe Doctrine. William Castle attacked the President for the extension of the Doctrine to the dominion as involving the United States in the entanglements of the British Empire. Dexter Perkins stated in 1941 that the application of the Doctrine to Canada was one of the most striking developments of the last few years,

since it was the first time in American history that it was applied to Canada.

Conversations between the two countries on joint defense began in 1939. At Ogdensburg, New York, on August 17, 1940, when Prime Minister King was attending military maneuvers at President Roosevelt's invitation, the two leaders announced the conclusion of a defense agreement.

"It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defense shall be set up at once by the two countries. This Permanent Joint Board on Defense shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and materials. It will consider in the broad sense the defense of the north half of the Western Hemisphere. The Permanent Joint Board on Defense will consist of 4 or 5 members from each country, most of them from the services. It will meet shortly."

The Honorable Fiorello H. LaGuardia was named head of the United States section, while Colonel O. M. Biggar was named head of the Canadian section. The board included representatives of the army, navy, and air services, as well as a secretary for each of the sections from the United States Department of State and the Department of External Affairs of Canada.

This was an agreement between a neutral and a belligerent for defense, bringing the dominion into the orbit of Western Hemisphere diplomacy. Together Canada and the United States can plan the defense of North America from the Rio Grande to Hudson Bay. Canada's war potential is greater than that of any other country in the New World except the United States. Canadians themselves believe that they can look after their own defenses with their own men and materials. Indeed, when the Ogdensburg agreement was announced, they

began to speculate as to what they might have to do to aid in the defense of the United States. However, Canada cannot try to command the high seas off her coasts or even hold the islands like Greenland, Iceland, and the West Indies, for she cannot match the great powers in shipbuilding.

The Ogdensburg accord was merely an understanding between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada. There is no promise to give military assistance in specific circumstances; no formalization of the President's assurance at Kingston. Since the Board in itself has no executive power, joint action can occur only if the unpublished reports of the Board are accepted by the two governments. But the significance of Ogdensburg does not lie in the technicalities of the agreement. The distinguished Canadian historian F. R. Scott says: "Though strictly speaking Ogdensburg is not a treaty of defensive alliance, when taken in conjunction with the Monroe Doctrine, President Roosevelt's promise at Queen's University, and the fact that the defense board is permanent, it approaches the same thing." The agreement was a greater innovation for Canada with its Empire ties than for the United States with its Pan American policy. The fall of France not only brought home to Ottawa the need for continental defense but also an increased desire to aid Great Britain. Prime Minister Churchill, who had been informed of the negotiations, asserted in the House of Commons concerning the formation of the joint board as well as the base-destroyer deal:

"Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my part, looking out upon the future, I

do not view the process with any misgivings. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days."

Canada is also moving toward membership in the Pan American Union. When the Pan American Building was erected, John Barrett, director general of the organization, suggested to Secretary of State Root that the decorations and wordings should include the dominion. After Secretary Root had talked with President Theodore Roosevelt and Latin American statesmen, he told Mr. Barrett to place Canada's escutcheon in the patio wall along with the others, to include a Canadian panel in the bronze frieze of the Governing Board room, and even to have a chair with the name Canada made for the Council Table. But Canada has not yet joined the Pan American Union.

At the Havana Conference, in 1928, discussions occurred on the issue of Canadian entrance in the Union. The question was not formally raised, since everyone waited for someone else to take the initiative. The United States was prepared to second the motion in favor of Canada's entrance. At Montevideo in 1933 the initiative apparently was left to Canada, since the conference only adopted a resolution advising the Pan American Union to study the desirability of allowing states not members of it to adhere to its treaties and conventions. Prior to the Lima conference, Prime Minister MacKenzie King told the House of Commons that Canada had not been invited to attend the conference, that membership was restricted to "American republics," that public opinion had not become sufficiently "informed and matured" in Canada, but that membership was a "possibility which should be considered in the future." However, Canada was represented at the Inter-

American Travel Congress at San Francisco, and Ottawa sent an unofficial observer to the Havana conference in 1940.

There are several factors working for and several against Canada's membership in the Pan American Union. Among the latter are Canada's emotional attachment to England, her fear of quarrels in Pan American affairs causing bad relations with the United States, and her insignificant economic relations with Latin America. Among the former are the increasing recognition of the identity of Canada's interests with those of the United States, the belief in the dominion's responsibility to help to make the Western Hemisphere the strongest possible base against the spread of totalitarianism, and Canada's general confidence in the faith that Washington has in the Pan American Union. Several prominent Canadians presented their viewpoints on the subject at the Conference on Canadian-American Affairs in Canton, New York, in June, 1939. Professor R. G. Trotter stressed the possible complications of Canada's relations with the United States in a Pan American argument; Professor Frank Scott favored the "immediate" entrance of Canada into the Pan American Union; Dr. Chester Martin stated that Canada might join the Pan American Union if the United States moved toward the center of world affairs. Professor P. E. Corbett, in July, 1941, expressed his approval of Canada's admission when he said, "The living forces of the present seem to be moving towards the full integration of Canada in the hemisphere community." John P. Humphrey wrote in the Canadian Forum in October, 1941: "Canada's place in a world divided into regional groups would naturally be in the Union of American States. Traditionally and historically, however, we have been associated with another group which cuts across geographical lines, the British Commonwealth of Nations. As

these two great international organizations are presently organized, there would be no incompatibility, either legal or political, in Canada's belonging to them both. But the situation might be different if both or either of them were organized on a federal basis."<sup>1</sup>

Certain geopolitical weaknesses of the British Commonwealth-Empire are evident. First, the Commonwealth-Empire depends upon the control of the seas by the British or Allied navies. The rise of marginal navies in other parts of the world ocean is a threat to London unless those other navies are Allied. The German navy of 1914 was one of the big reasons for Britain's entrance into the First World War. In the present conflict, the Italian navy was a threat in the Mediterranean and the Japanese navy became a menace to the Far Eastern possessions of Britain. The two greatest navies of the post-war world will be the American and the British. If the Anglo-Saxon nations should ever disagree, the British possessions in the Pacific and in the Atlantic would be seriously jeopardized. Another geopolitical weakness is the lack of white man power, which weakness is especially conspicuous in war. The scattered distribution of the white population of the Commonwealth throughout the world raises a serious mobilization problem for the Commonwealth. Furthermore, the British have not attempted to use native troops the way the French have tried in North Africa. London in a world war has a definite need for man power, since the dependent areas of the Empire do not form the main armies of the British King. The subcontinent of India, with its teeming

<sup>1</sup>John P. Humphrey, "Pan America in the World Order," *The Canadian Forum*, XXI (October, 1941), 201-2.

millions, requires American and British forces. As Major General Haushofer has indicated, the trend from base points to base areas in the future is a blow at the strength of the British Commonwealth-Empire. Hong Kong, off Canton, is no longer important from the viewpoint of strategy. A powerful Japan or a powerful China on the seacoast opposite the Crown Colony can easily capture it. The same principle holds true for Gibraltar, Penang, and Singapore. The Suez Canal can be defended only by British power in Palestine and Egypt.

The location of the British Commonwealth-Empire scattered over the earth does not possess the importance of a compact base like the United States and the U.S.S.R. Although the lands of King George VI have a high degree of self-sufficiency, any single unit alone is woefully deficient in essential resources. The British Isles will be less able to defend themselves in the event of a Third World War involving a greater use of air power. The 21 miles of English Channel may not have much significance in the future. Furthermore, Great Britain does not possess defense in depth as do the United States and the U.S.S.R. It is quite likely that the element of defense in depth will acquire even more significance in the future. Finally, the British Isles are not capable of feeding themselves over a long period of time. An effective blockade cutting off food supplies would lead to the starvation of the people. Sir Halford Mackinder, an Englishman, has summed up the situation when he called Great Britain a "Malta on a grander scale." The geopolitics of the British Commonwealth-Empire would indicate that close collaboration with the United States in the post-war world is essential to the security of all the Anglo-Saxon peoples.



## Chapter Nine · Examples of Geopolitics in Other States

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### CHINA: POTENTIAL LEADER IN THE FAR EAST

The defeat of Japan will raise the question of the future leading power on the mainland of Eastern Asia. It is doubtful if the United States, Great Britain, or Russia will hold that position. On the other hand, the role of China in the post-war world, whether or not she will be a great power, is extremely important. China proper consists of eighteen provinces, which compose one third of the total land area of the republic and have eight ninths of the people. The area of the eighteen provinces is 1,532,800 square miles, and the population is 415,000,000. China proper and the outer territories of Manchukuo, Mongolia, Tibet, and Sinkiang have an area of 4,278,352 square miles and a population of roughly 445,000,000. Twenty-two million of these people are found in Manchukuo, two million in Mongolia, three million in Tibet, and two million in Sinkiang. One of the most significant events since 1937, the year of the Japanese attack on China, is the moving of 60 million Chinese into the West, symbolized by Chungking.

During much of her history China has been separated from the rest of the world. On the east the Pacific Ocean was a barrier before the days of modern shipping. China was never conquered from across the ocean, nor did the Chinese venture out on the sea. In the southwest China joined the peninsula of Indo-China with the border in a tropical jungle, filled with malaria, thinly populated, and partially unexplored. The Chinese border with India is marked by huge gorges

and towering mountains, both formidable obstacles. The lofty plateau of Tibet, the roof of the world, has had few contacts with outside peoples. The Gobi, a desert in the north, was the most vulnerable side of old China. The nomadic peoples of the steppes of Asia led Emperor Chin Shih to complete the Chinese Wall, a continuous barrier from the sea to the margin of Tibet. Whereas China in recent decades has faced the Pacific, for centuries she faced the north and the west of the interior. The contacts between Inner Asia and the Northwest Provinces were the dominant factor in China's history. The Jade Gate, near the end of the Great Wall in Kansu, was formerly the entrance; before the present war Shanghai, on the ocean, had become the main entrance. The westernization of China is chiefly limited to the region of certain cities along the seacoast, the lands of the navigable rivers, and the areas served by the railroads. Vast regions of the republic in the Twentieth Century are still indicative of the Ming dynasty. Within sight of each other rise the big industrial plants of today and the simple farmhouses of yesterday.

Canton is within the tropics, while northern Manchukuo is only 13 degrees from the arctic circle. The coast of Fukien has a rainfall of 75 inches a year, and Inner Mongolia seldom has more than 10 inches. The growing season varies from scarcely three months in the Far North to a year in the Far South. The chief agricultural districts are found on the plains along the lower Yangtze, in central Manchukuo, and in the great delta of the Hwang. All western and

southern China is distinctly hilly or mountainous. The conditions of changing weather in north and central China produced by the cyclonic storms are stimulating. North of Peiping the temperatures are like those of western Europe and northern United States. Most of the country is definitely warmer than the most important areas of the United States and Europe. Indeed, heat and oppressive humidity dominate south China throughout the year.

The north and the south are the dividing lines of China, with the change occurring midway between the Yangtze and the Hwang rivers. The southern Chinese are shorter than the northern, while the skin of the southern Chinese is somewhat darker. In the north the rainfall is limited, while in the south it is abundant. In the north floods and droughts occur, while in the south water is always available with canals and irrigation. In the north cold winters and hot summers are common, while in the south cool winters and hot moist summers occur. The north has a semiarid climate, while the south has a subtropical one. The north has frequent famines, whereas the south, apart from overpopulation, has relative prosperity. Kaoliang, millet, wheat, and beans are grown in the north, and rice is raised in the south. The landscape of the north is brown and dust-blown during the winter; the south is green at all seasons. The north has a smoother coast line with poor harbors; the south has an irregular coast line with many good harbors. Travel is more by land in the north and more by water in the south. Mandarin is the dialect in the north, while a great diversity of dialects is heard in the south. The north is a land of conservatism and classical scholars; the south is more radical and adventurous. Throughout most of China's history the north has played the important role, but in recent years the south has been very

prominent. The present Kuomintang Government of China conquered the north from the south.

The pressure of population is great in China despite war, banditry, floods, and droughts. The birth rate is probably from 42 to 50 per thousand. It is possible that China is increasing in population by over 37 million a decade. In regions like the North China Plain the population density is at least 647 people per square mile, with the concentration in the Yangtze River delta probably three times this rate. At least three fourths of the Chinese are engaged in agriculture, cultivating the soil to the limit. Moreover, China does not have large areas of good unused agricultural lands. If mere subsistence is all that is wanted, China can feed and shelter probably 500 million people or more, but if a higher standard of living is chosen, a lower birth rate than the present appears necessary.

The communications of China have been poor for centuries. Except for railroads or automobiles the mode of travel is on foot, by mule, boat, sedan chair, or two-wheeled cart. Distances are measured in time units, not by space relationships. In the days of the empire a system of highways radiated from Peking to the provincial capitals and connected with the neighboring areas. The Grand Canal ran between the Yangtze and the Hwang rivers. In modern times automobile roads have been constructed, especially in the north, since the land is more level and old cart roads can be used. By the end of 1930 the total length of China's railroads was 10,867 miles, with 40 per cent of the total mileage in Manchukuo. This was an 84 per cent increase over the mileage of 1912. The leading railroads between the Great Wall and the Yangtze are the Peiping-Liaoning, the Peiping-Suiyuan, the Tientsin-Pukow, the Peiping-Hankow, the Lung-Hai, and the Shangtung Railroad from Tsingtao

to Tsinan. South of the Yangtze, Shanghai has lines to Hangchow and Nanking, while three short lines radiate from Canton. The rivers of China also have an important part in communication. Their valleys are the agricultural lands for feeding the Chinese. In the north the Amur and its tributaries, the Ussuri in the east and the Argun in the west, form the boundary of northeastern China for 1500 miles. The great river of North China is the Hwang, or Yellow River, 2700 miles in length. It is navigable for only a short distance from the mouth, although small craft may be used in the stretches farther up. This river is called China's Sorrow, as it has occasionally changed its course, entering the sea north or south of the Shantung Peninsula. The greatest river is the Yangtze, 3200 miles long, draining 756,500 square miles. The semi-navigable portion begins 1630 miles from the sea, while from Ichang for 1000 miles to the ocean the river is navigable. Ten-thousand-ton ocean steamships can reach Hankow during the summer high-water season, and specially built ships can maintain a year-round service to Chungking. The coast line of China, extending over 3000 miles, omitting minor indentations, has been the area of invasion from the West and from Japan in recent history.

Since the days of the early European travelers, popular imagination has considered China very rich in mineral wealth. Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, in his travels after 1870, wrote enthusiastic accounts of wealth in coal and iron, especially in Shansi. Since 1911 systematic geological surveys have been carried out by the central government and by some of the provinces. China is not a new and unexplored country to the geologist, since the main outline of her resources is already clear. In coal, China appears to have the largest supplies of the countries of the western Pacific. China's

ultimate source of coal is enormous, having all she will need for several centuries. Her resources have been estimated as 996,613,000,000 metric tons as compared with United States' reserves of 3,838,657,000,000 metric tons. The coal of China is found especially in Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, and Honan, although almost every province has some coal. Probably only the Appalachian area of eastern United States and the lower Rhine Valley of Germany, Belgium, and France are equal in coal wealth. The second coal district of China is in the Red Basin and Southwestern Tableland. The bulk of China's coal lies in the mountains, in the northwestern and southwestern parts of the country, remote from water transportation, the great population centers, and chief metallic deposits. The mines in China have little relation to the largest deposits. China's share of the world's annual production of coal of nearly 1,500 million metric tons usually exceeds 25 million metric tons.

Water power in China is almost completely undeveloped. Most of the rivers of China are impractical for hydroelectric use, but the south has potential power sites. The largest potential water power is found in the Yangtze gorges and the Tibetan Borderland.

No commercial supplies of petroleum in China have been discovered. Oil shales from which petroleum production may be secured by distillation are found in certain provinces. The expense of recovery causes the gasoline and fuel oil to cost more than that acquired from crude oil. From the facts now known there is no reason to believe that petroleum sources will be discovered in the future. All evidence indicates that China is deficient in oil.

On the basis of the geological evidence now known, China as a whole is also deficient in iron ore. Some iron ore is found along

the Yangtze, near Peiping, in Manchukuo, and in Shansi. The chief development has been south of Mukden at Anshan. Coking coal is not generally found within economic distance of the iron ore. China has some copper, but there is no evidence of large reserves. She is self-sufficient in tin, with the production chiefly in southern Yunnan. China has a world monopoly of antimony, having 80 per cent of the entire production, which is widely found in the south. The republic also dominates the world market in tungsten, with the areas in Kiangsi, Hunan, and Kwangtung. Few deposits of lead and zinc large enough for modern operations have been found. On the other hand, China is an important producer of manganese and mercury. Dr. George Cressey, an authority on the geography of China, says: "There seems no probability that China as a whole will ever rival western Europe or eastern North America in industrial activity, or that she will become a large-scale exporter of manufactured products."<sup>1</sup>

Added to the industrial weaknesses of China is the very unstable political and social organization of the republic. European penetration in China was climaxed by the "grabbag" days of the 1890's when Germany, Britain, Russia, and France secured special bases in the country, following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 further revealed the internal instability of the Manchu Empire. The Chinese Revolution lasted from 1911 to 1928, beginning under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and ending under the guidance of Chiang Kai-shek, following the death of the former in 1925. The Kuomintang stands for nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood — nationalism as the freedom of China from foreign domination, democracy as the government of the

people, and people's livelihood as a substantial degree of economic equality. Three periods of government were envisioned: military unification, political tutelage, and constitutional democracy. The military unification was completed in 1928, when the forces of Chiang Kai-shek defeated the northern forces. The period of political tutelage followed. In September, 1943, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang announced that a national assembly would meet within a year from the end of the war to draw up a permanent constitution for China. From 1928 to 1937 the Chinese made considerable progress in education, industrialization, national defense, and communications. Then the Japanese struck in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937. Since then the Japanese and Chinese have been fighting in the Far East. China is now divided into three general political areas: enslaved China under Wang Ching-wei's puppet government of Japan, free China under the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, and for all practical purposes the Communist areas of northwest China, which exercise complete autonomy. The problems facing the Chinese in the future are manifold: relations with the Communists of China, the organization of the Chinese government, the further industrialization of the country, the restoration of the devastated areas, the evils arising from the present uncontrolled inflation, the problems of population, the education of the masses, and agriculture reform.

China will emerge from the Second World War as a strong country but not as a great power. It is extremely doubtful if China, despite her size and population, will ever be a great power, at least in our time, because of her problems of organization and her deficiencies in iron and petroleum. The China of the future will be freed from all the inequalities imposed upon her by the

<sup>1</sup>George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (New York, 1934), 132.

Western nations in the 1800's. She will see Japan driven from her soil and reduced to an impotent state. She will regain Manchuria and Formosa and possibly Hong Kong. Her development of the west may even lead to special privileges along the British sections of the Burma Road. China will be the leading country of the Far East, but her voice will probably never equal that of the United States or the Soviet Union in the councils of the powers.

### FRANCE: THE REPUBLIC THAT LOST ITSELF

The role of France on the continent of Europe has been important. Unified as a state long before Germany and Italy, her voice was powerful in the affairs of Europe. In the Hundred Years' War the English were driven from French soil, except for Calais. Louis XIV, the Sun King of France, sought to extend the boundaries of the state to the natural frontiers, especially the historic Rhine. In the 1700's the French were fighting overseas in defense of their colonial empire. By the end of the Seven Years' War (1756 to 1763) France had lost most of her possessions in North America and had been pushed largely out of India. The French Revolution, followed by the Napoleonic Era, shook the foundations of Europe. Napoleon extended the power of the tricolor from Russia to the Atlantic and from Spain to Sweden. The conflict resolved itself into a struggle between the sea power of Great Britain and the land power of France. Napoleon never crossed the Channel; the drive toward India via Egypt was a failure; the French navy was defeated at Trafalgar in 1805; the march to Moscow in 1812 was the beginning of the end. With the boundaries of 1790 restored, France throughout the '1800's once more began a conquest of an empire, this time in Africa, the Pacific, and

the Far East. The defeat of France by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) revealed that the continental strength of France had weakened. The near defeat of France by the Kaiser in 1914 showed that the republic was weak, despite an eastern front in Russia to divert German troops and despite the aid of Great Britain, especially on the sea. After the First World War, with the defeat of Germany, the retirement of Britain across the Channel, and the collapse of Russia, the French were able to dominate Europe. The influential position of Paris was lost by the rise of a powerful Germany under Adolf Hitler. The defeat of France in 1940, despite the aid of Britain, was due largely to the absence of a second front in the east and to internal decay within the French Republic. It is now obvious that France alone cannot defeat an armed Germany; possibly France and Britain together are unable to do the task; it is quite likely that France and Britain must be aided either by the Soviet Union or by the United States, if Germany is to be prevented from ruling western Europe. The strength of Germany is well revealed by her military accomplishments in the First and Second World Wars. The security of France in Europe is no longer a national problem but a world problem.

France herself has an area of 207,000 square miles, the largest country in Europe, west of Russia, prior to 1938. Yet the immediate conclusion arises that France does not have defense in depth, nor can she sell space to gain time. Neither does she have 21 miles of water to separate her from her historic enemy, Germany. The very location of France has placed her in a very vulnerable position. The Pyrenees form the boundary between France and Spain. The establishment of a Fascist regime in Spain under General Franco gave Hitler a non-belligerent ally of considerable nuisance value in the

Second World War. The French boundary to the east from the Mediterranean to Lake Geneva follows the crest of the chief Alpine range in general, except in Swiss portions, where it follows a range west of the Swiss section of the Rhône. Six highways possessing military value cross the range. The boundary between Switzerland and France runs halfway between the two shores of Lake Geneva, an excellent example of a lake boundary. The Swiss city of Geneva, at the outlet of the lake, is joined to Switzerland by a narrow corridor along the northern shore. The Jura Mountains separate most of France from Switzerland. The boundary then extends along the Rhine, which has been the line of demarcation between France and Germany since 1918. Between the Ardennes and the Rhine the boundary running over the Lorraine Plateau has no definite physiographic basis. The French boundary across the northern lowlands is the most dangerous from a military point of view. On the other hand, the French boundaries on the east were reinforced by the famous Maginot Line. The maritime boundaries of France make it a sea as well as a land state. Drowned coasts with unproductive hinterlands have produced naval bases such as Brest and Toulon; lowland coasts of dunes and lagoons with poor harbors are found west of the Rhône delta and south of the Garonne outlet. A series of escarpments, having great military importance, are located around the Paris Basin. The gateways to France between these obstacles are the Flanders opening of the northern lowlands, the gate of Lorraine between the Vosges and Hunsrück, the Burgundy gate between the Vosges and the Jura, and the Rhône-Saône depression. These gateways are controlled through a concentric alignment of escarpments with outer steep slopes facing the potential enemy. However, the shape of France is compact,

although the location of Paris is eccentric. On May 10, 1940, the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. In four days the Dutch, who did not possess defense in depth, were forced to surrender. At the same time the Nazis marched through the Ardennes of Belgium to take Sedan, the scene of the capture of the French Emperor in the Franco-Prussian War. German forces swept up the Somme to Abbeville and thence along the coast to Dunkerque. The Nazis then marched south along the Oise River to Paris, eventually taking the Maginot Line from the rear.

The France of 1939 possessed many economic assets. The most important agricultural land of France is in the north, with a steady decline toward the south. France was almost self-sufficient in food supplies; the imports from North Africa completed the self-sufficiency. The republic had a surplus of bauxite, iron, and potash with a good production of coal and a substantial amount of developed water power. France lacks petroleum, lead, zinc, copper, tin, mercury, manganese, nickel, tungsten, and chromite. The coal and iron are in general located near the German frontier — a menace in time of war. Cotton, jute, and rubber are lacking, but to a limited extent raw silk and wool are provided. Though France is a great manufacturing country, the industries are concentrated in northern France and Alsace-Lorraine. The road pattern is excellent, owing to the military projects of Napoleon; water navigation is important, with the development of river transportation and the building of canals; the railroad network is very good; the air routes fan out from Paris. (*Figure 24*)

The population of France is 42 million, with a well-balanced distribution. The most densely populated areas are the industrial and commercial regions — Alsace-Lorraine, Rouen, Paris, northern France, Lyon, and



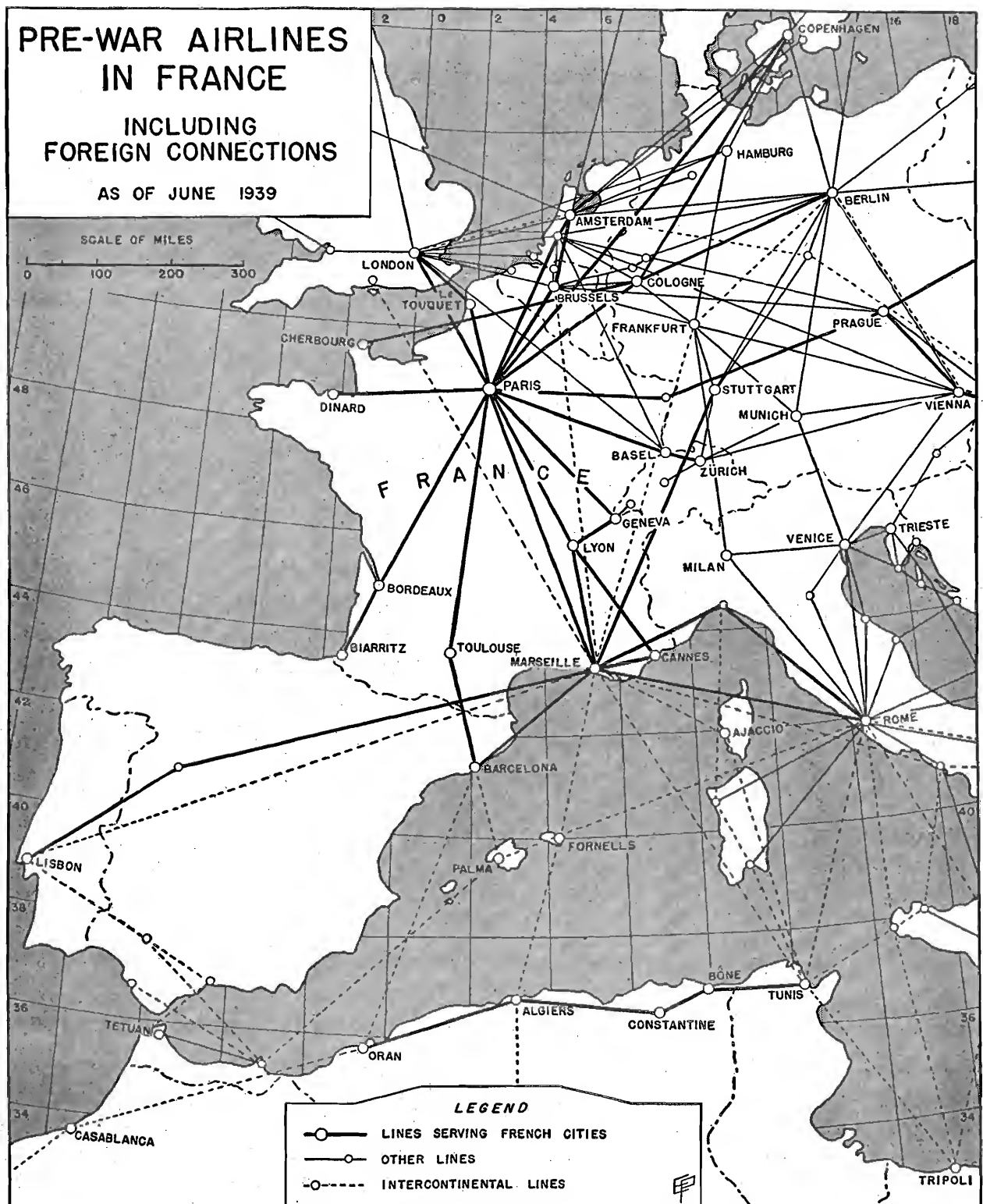


FIG. 24 · PRE-WAR AIRLINES IN FRANCE · France's North Sea-to-Mediterranean land bridge is a natural area of air traffic and transit

Marseille, the towns on the west coast of Brittany, and the tourist area of Nice. The population of France is relatively stable, in contrast with the populations of Great Britain, Italy, and Germany, which have been rapidly increasing since 1870. In 1939 the total number of children born in Germany was about twice that of France, and in Italy about one and one-half times that of France. The colonial empire of the republic is used to make up the deficiency of manpower. Although there is no official state religion in France, the people are largely Roman Catholic. Many of the one million Protestants live in Alsace. France is united ethnically, although the diversity of racial origins is apparent.

The French Colonial Empire is the second largest on earth, with an area of 4,600,000 square miles. Remnants of the old empire are found in India (Chandernagor, Yanaon, Pondichéry, and Karikal), in Latin America (French Guiana, Guadeloupe, and Martinique), and off Newfoundland (St. Pierre and Miquelon). The new colonial empire started with the occupation of Algeria in 1830; the French Congo had its beginning between 1842 and 1849, French West Africa began from Senegal as early as 1783, but the greatest extension came in the 1880's and 1890's; Indo-China came under the French flag between 1862 and 1896; Tunisia was acquired in 1883 and Morocco in 1912. French Somaliland was annexed in 1862-1864, and Madagascar came under French control in 1885; in the Pacific, Oceania was acquired in 1847 and New Caledonia in 1853. The New Hebrides became a condominium of Britain and France in 1906; Syria and the French section of the Cameroons and Togoland went to the republic as mandates after the First World War. In Africa the French direction of empire has been from west to east while the British direction has been north and south. (Figure

25) At Fashoda, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in 1898, the forces of the Union Jack under Lord Kitchener and the Tricolor under Major Marchand met. Fortunately the matter was referred to Paris, and France left the disputed area.

The colonies serve as markets for manufactured goods and sources of raw materials.

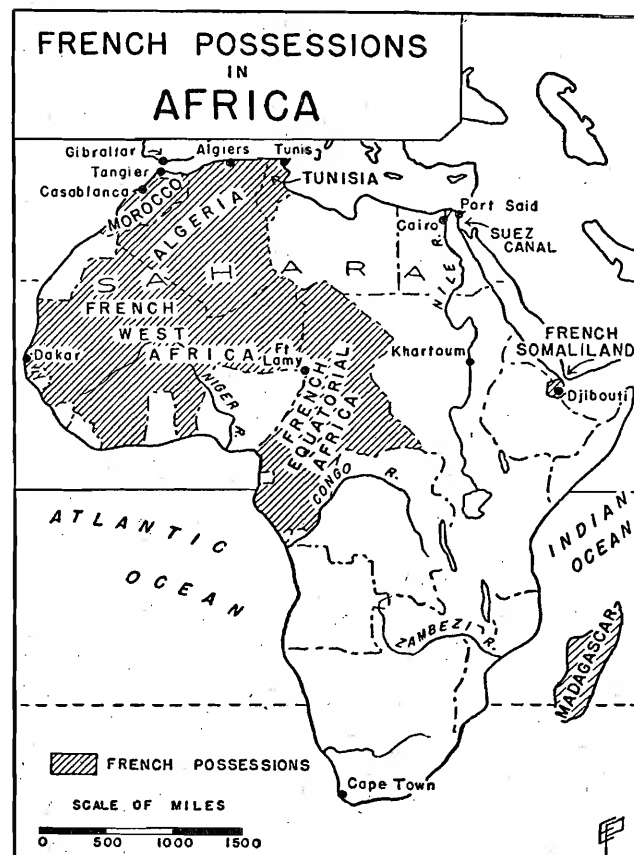


FIG. 25 · FRENCH POSSESSIONS · French Africa, impressive in size, includes much of the Sahara and large areas of wet tropics

They have antimony, chromium, nickel, and graphite, each furnishing from seven to nine per cent of the world's supplies, while North Africa has some iron ore. The nickel and chromium come from New Caledonia, the antimony from Algeria, and the graphite from Madagascar. The colonial population numbers about 68,500,000. Frenchmen have shown little desire to leave the homeland, with the settlement of Quebec as the outstanding exception. However, North Africa,

especially Algeria, has 850,000 Frenchmen. In North Africa, West and Equatorial Africa, and Indo-China are 60,000,000 of the French colonial population. North Africa includes Algeria, where the French influence is strongest; Tunisia, where there is a large Italian minority; and Morocco, the newest acquisition. The French North African power line crosses the British Gibraltar-Singapore line in the western Mediterranean. French West Africa has been a source of man power in war, with the famous Senegalese playing an important part. Dakar in Senegal, only 1600 miles from Natal, Brazil, was a menace to the Western Hemisphere after the fall of France. President Roosevelt of the United States and President Vargas of Brazil have agreed that Dakar must never again become a threat to the Western Hemisphere. French Indo-China has 23 million people, but the possession was not used as a source of man power for metropolitan France in wartime.

The fall of France in the summer of 1940 placed the French Colonial Empire in the lap of the gods. From the early transfer of allegiance of French Equatorial Africa from Marshall Pétain to General De Gaulle up to the resignation of Admiral Robert in Martinique and Guadeloupe in the summer of 1943 is a long account of diplomacy and military activity. Now all the empire has come into Allied hands except French Indo-China, which is under Japanese control. The Allies had to fight in Syria after the pro-Axis revolt in Iraq; they had to fight in Madagascar to guard the vital strategic route from England to Russia via the Cape; they had to invade North Africa on November 8, 1942; and they had to drive the Nazis from Tunisia. The control of French Indo-China by the Japanese gave Tokyo a base for operations in southeastern Asia, especially in Thailand and British Malaya. The Allied control of New Caledonia and the New

Hebrides has protected the supply lines to Australia. The eventual acquisition of the French Colonial Empire was accomplished by the Allied command of the seas.

The future of France is highly problematical. From a geopolitical viewpoint, her continental area is weak; her population is not ample; her overseas empire depends upon the fleet that she has herself partly scuttled. The pavilion of the French Colonial Empire at the New York World's Fair was the last representation of the dying world power of Paris. France can never again attain the brilliance of the Third Republic or the military power of Napoleon. Defeated in 1871, she rose to victory in 1918 with the aid of a world coalition. Defeated in 1940, she chose surrender, although North Africa would have been an excellent base of operations. The security of France lies only in close collaboration with the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

#### ITALY: MARE NOSTRUM AS A DREAM IN ROME

Italy was the first Fascist power to come into existence, as well as the first Fascist state to collapse in the Second World War. (*Figure 26*) In 1922 Benito Mussolini became dictator of Italy; in 1943 he left Rome, the capital of a fallen empire. The traditions of the Roman Empire were very strong in Fascist Italy. Maps on the walls of public buildings indicated the Roman Empire under the Emperor Trajan as compared with the Italian Empire under the Duce. Mare Nostrum was a symbol of power, with the Roman legions extending the boundaries of the Caesars from Britain and the Rhine and Danube rivers on the north to the Sahara Desert on the south, from the Atlantic on the west to the Arabian Desert and the Tigris and Euphrates rivers on the east. The only period in history when the entire inland sea

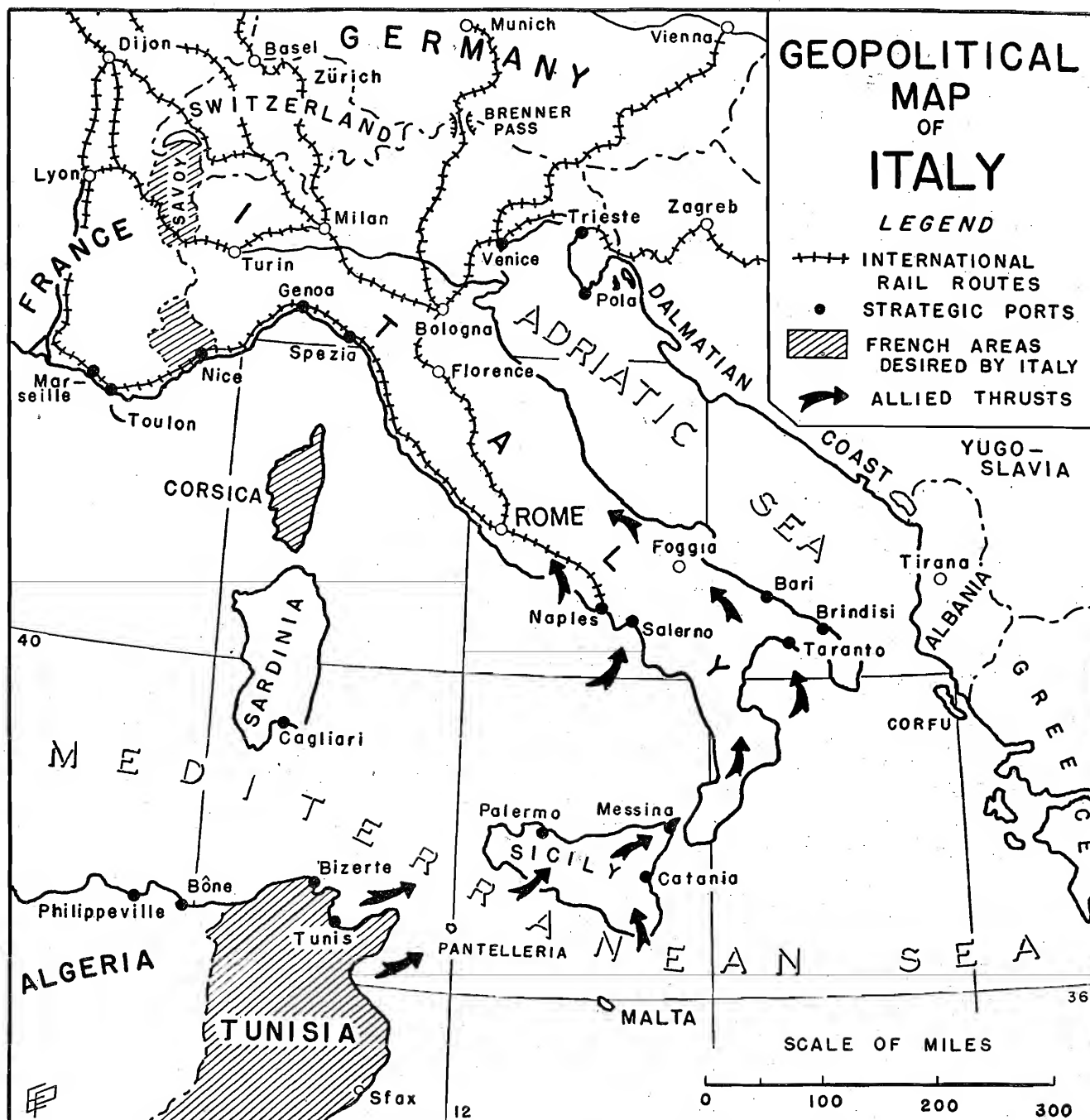


FIG. 26 · GEOPOLITICAL MAP OF ITALY · The heritage of a great empire serves as a military pawn

was united came under the aegis of Imperial Rome. A superior navy was built to destroy the Carthaginian navy and to get control of the Mediterranean. After all the coast lands of the inland sea had been brought under the Roman scepter and the provinces of the empire had been united by all roads leading

to Rome, the navy was gradually allowed to decline.

The word Fascism is taken from the fasces, symbols of power carried by the lictors when the Roman Emperor made a public appearance. Only twice in history has the Italian peninsula itself been united: the Romans ac-

completed the task, and the nationalists of the Nineteenth Century succeeded in turning Italy from a "geographical expression" to a state.

Geography has exerted a paramount influence in the history of Italy. First, she is largely a peninsula jutting into the center of the Mediterranean, separating the western basin, which is almost surrounded by mountains, from the eastern basin, which has mountains on the north and deserts on the south and east. From Gibraltar to Port Said is 1900 miles; from Tunisia to Sicily is only 90 miles. The Italian life line to the empire in Italian East Africa used the artery of the Suez Canal. By her geographical location in the Mediterranean, Italy was able to play the role of a blackmailer with reference to Britain and France. Furthermore, if the Italian fleet could get control of the Mediterranean, the British would have little use for Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Suez.

Italy's geographical position is very vulnerable, with 2500 miles of coast line. Throughout history the people have been very sensitive to sea power. The total area of Italy proper is about that of New Mexico, while the population is 44 million. The length of Italy is 700 miles; the width is less than 100 miles in the peninsula area, where the Apennines occupy one half. The number of good harbors on the seacoast is small: south of Venice on the Adriatic there is no single natural harbor, while on the west coast only Genoa and Naples qualify in this respect.

The geographical features of northern Italy are significant. The Alps stretch in a vast concave toward Italy and are steeper in that direction. History has proved that it is easier to invade Italy from France or Austria than to invade France or Austria from Italy. A few mountain passes like the Brenner between Italy and Austria and the Little St. Bernard between France and Italy

have great strategic importance. Two of the great generals of history crossed the Alps into Italy: Hannibal of Carthage and Napoleon of France. The continental plain of northern Italy is the industrial heart of the state. Here the Po River forms a fertile basin and flows to the Adriatic along a low, swampy island and lagoon coast. Milan and Turin are the leading industrial cities of the country; Venice is a famous city of islands and lagoons; Verona, Mantua, and Bologna are also cities of the plain of northern Italy; the famous old Roman seaport of Ravenna on the northern Adriatic is now on dry land. On peninsular Italy the Apennines dominate the scene. In the northern half they present a steep face to the Adriatic and in the southern half a steep face to the Tyrrhenian Sea. The Apennines east of Genoa rise to 7000 feet, while the central Apennines reach 10,000 feet on the east coast. In the south the Apennines close in on the west at the toe (Calabrian Mountains) and open out toward the east at the heel (Apulian plain).

Florence, in Tuscany, is essentially the heart of the state. It once was the capital of Italy before Rome was occupied by the nationalists. Genoa, the alleged birthplace of Columbus, is the only good harbor of northwestern Italy. Rome, the fated city of the Seven Hills, is on the Tiber River, having Ostia as its port in the period of the Caesars, and Civitavecchia today. The Eternal City is also located at the edge of the broad plain of Latium. Naples, the one good harbor of southwestern Italy, is on the edge of a fertile plain, with Mt. Vesuvius, an active volcano, towering into the sky. The leading naval bases of Italy are Spezia, Taranto, Naples, Brindisi, Venice, and Pola. Sicily is a part of Italy proper, separated from the toe by the two miles of the Strait of Messina. Historically, Sicily and southern Italy have often been under one government.

The island is mountainous, with Syracuse, Palermo, Catania and Messina as important cities. Messina and Catania were also naval bases of the Italians. West of Italy and south of Corsica is the Italian island of Sardinia, with its rugged mountains, malarial plains, and naval bases of Terranova and Cagliari. The Küstenland of Italy includes the important cities of Trieste on the Istrian peninsula, Pola, the former Austro-Hungarian naval base, and Fiume, the seaport which both Yugoslavia and Italy wanted after the First World War. Connecting the head of the Adriatic with the Sava branch of the Danube is the Plateau of the Carso gap of Karst topography in the Alpine barrier, with a pass of 2,897 feet called the Peartree Pass. On the east shore of the Adriatic, south of Fiume, the Italians possess Zara, Lagosta, and Saseno. Finally, the conquest of Albania in 1939 gave the Italians the harbors of Durazzo and Valona. The control of Albania turned the Adriatic into an Italian lake, since Rome ruled both sides of the 45-mile-wide Strait of Otranto. Valona, which has a good deep landlocked harbor, is in back of Saseno, while Durazzo is to the north, too shallow for significance as a naval base. However, Italian funds were used to deepen the harbor. The Fascist possession of Pantelleria has come into the limelight. In 1935, the Duce decided to utilize its strategic location in the narrow channel between Sicily and Tunisia. However, it had no natural harbor, the anchorages were bad, and the water supply poor. West of Malta the islands of Lampedusa and Linosa were held under the Italian flag. Italian interests in the Dodecanese are also important. The Dodecanese consist of thirteen islands, of which Rhodes, Leros, Stampalia, and Castellorigo are among the most important. Rhodes, only 18 miles from Turkey, is the largest island, while Leros has the better harbor. The majority

of the people are Greeks with strong ties to Athens. In 1912, in the Italo-Turkish War, the Italians occupied the islands, but Rome did not formally acquire them until 1920.

Italy's interests in the Mediterranean were not only strategic but also commercial. Eighty-six per cent of Italian trade is in the Mediterranean in contrast to twenty per cent of the British. As the Duce said: "If for others the Mediterranean is a route, for us it is life itself." Since Italy depends upon sea-borne trade to a great extent, she is vulnerable to a blockade in the event of war. In food supplies Italy is self-sufficient, but in minerals she can furnish herself only with lead, zinc, bauxite, and about one half of her manganese; she has no tin and no copper; she has to buy abroad her oil, rubber, cotton, and most of her wool and coal; she has some iron, especially from the island of Elba. Italy has nine railroads through or around the Alps, and she can get coal, iron, and copper from continental sources. Most of her oil and cotton, all her rubber and tin, must come from Gibraltar or Suez or the Dardanelles. Three fourths of Italy's supplies come from beyond the Mediterranean: 70 per cent of these via Gibraltar, 17 per cent via Suez, and 13 per cent via the Dardanelles.

Italian diplomacy was more successful in the western Mediterranean than in the eastern. In 1923 Spain, England, and France set up an international regime for the management of Tangier, ignoring Italy. In 1928 the Statute was revised, and Italy was allowed to participate in the administration of the zone. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War gave the Italians a chance to increase their influence in the western Mediterranean. They could weaken Britain and France by supporting a Fascist regime in Spain; the Spanish Balearic Islands in the western Mediterranean could afford excellent bases to menace British and French communications; British interests might be



threatened at the Rock, and Spanish Morocco might prove a menace to French communications from Morocco to Algeria.

In Africa, Italy conquered Libya in the war with Turkey (1911-1912) solely for political and strategic reasons. Libya is without minerals, with very little water, and with very few people. Tripolitania is in the west, while Cyrenaica is in the east. The Senussi, a desert fraternity who preach a purified form of Islam, were the most bitter enemies of the Italians. The Fascists' attempt to send colonists to Libya was in general a failure. Strategically Libya was a threat to French Tunisia in the west and to Egypt in the east. The Mareth Line, built by the French against the Italians between Tunisia and Libya, was actually used by the Germans against the British in the Second World War. In October, 1940, Italy invaded Egypt. By February 10, 1941, the British had driven to El Agheila, but the Balkan invasion by Hitler occurred in April. By October, 1941, the Axis was on the west side of Matruh; in November, 1941, the British had cleared Cyrenaica and had reached El Agheila. Then the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, necessitating the recall of Anzac troops to the southwest Pacific. By July, 1942, the Axis reached El Alamein, a few miles from Alexandria. In October, 1942, the British began the drive at El Alamein in Egypt. On November 8 the Allies landed at Casablanca, Oran, and Algiers. By November 12 the Axis was driven from Egypt, and in January, 1943, the leading Italian port of Tripoli fell. Meanwhile the Nazis had occupied Tunisia to counter the Allied occupation of Algeria and Morocco. By early February the British entered Tunisia, and by the end of March they had cracked the Mareth Line. Gradually Tunisia was captured by the Allies, with the fall of Gabes, Sfax, Tunis, and Bizerte. By May 11, 1943,

organized Axis resistance had ended, while General von Arnim had been captured. The physiography of the region contributed especially to the British stand at El Alamein. From the Qattara Depression to the Mediterranean Sea was a narrow battlefield, forcing the Nazis to fight in a restricted area. To El Alamein the United States rushed 307 medium tanks from New York. Since one of the ships with 51 tanks was torpedoed, a corresponding number of tanks from an American armored division in maneuvers was sent to Egypt.

In East Africa Italy began a colony in 1870 by the purchase of the Red Sea port of Assab in Eritrea. By 1914 the empire included all Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. In 1936 Italy conquered Ethiopia in a war that began in 1935. Italy's total African area was 2,404,688 square miles, with a population of about 13,000,000. With the entrance of Italy into the Second World War on June 10, 1940, the eventual downfall of the empire was assured, since it could be cut off by the British from the Italian homeland. Italian East Africa fell first, although the Fascists had previously captured British Somaliland. In January, 1941, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland were invaded by the British, while in April, 1941, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, fell. In May Haile Selassie returned to the capital that he had lost to the conquering Mussolini.

By the time of the Italian armistice, based on unconditional surrender, Italy had lost all her possessions in Africa, and Pantelleria, Lampedusa, Linosa, and Sicily. With the Italian surrender, all other land under the Italian flag theoretically came under Allied control: British and German troops battled in the Italian Dodecanese; Sardinia was handed over to the Allies; Corsica, a French possession but garrisoned by Axis troops, was liberated from the Nazis; Italian troops in France and the Balkans were ordered to

lay down their arms. Crossing from Sicily, the British marched up the toe of Italy to the eastern part of the peninsula, while the Americans appeared on the western coast at Salerno, and eventually captured Naples. The fighting was carried on north of the Volturno River, with the goal of the Allied forces the Eternal City of Rome.

One thing is certain about the future of Italy. She will never again even claim to be a world power. She is deficient in natural resources; her geographical location is highly vulnerable; finally, her size is not sufficient for defense in depth. The dream of the restoration of the Roman Empire to the fated hills of Rome is gone forever.

### BRAZIL: SPATIAL GIANT OF SOUTH AMERICA

Brazil is larger than the United States, with only one third the population of her North American neighbor. The area of Brazil is 3,275,000 square miles — almost equal to that of the rest of South America. Only Russia, Canada, and China exceed the United States of Brazil in area. She is a neighbor of all South American countries except Chile and Ecuador.

Brazil may be divided into five units: the valley of the Amazon, 3900 miles long, and its tributaries, possessing a tropical rain-forest type of climate; the Guiana Highlands of the far north, divided between desert and forest; the southern basin of the Río de la Plata and the Paraná, a region of rich soil; the Brazilian Plateau, where much of the population and wealth are found; and the coastal plain, narrow in most areas, but spreading out in the south into a plain. The leading cities and much of the cultivated land are found in this 2500-mile expanse from the bulge to the southern boundary of Rio Grande do Sul.

The population of Brazil is about 48 mil-

lion, with an average of about 15 people to a square mile. Three fourths of the people live in the narrow strip about 100 miles wide along the coast, while about nine tenths live in the fourteen seaboard states from Fortaleza to Rio Grande do Sul, and in Minas Geraes, which has no seacoast. The rest of the country — more than 70 per cent of the area — is almost uninhabited. Brazil has a large virgin frontier. Most of the area is not inviting to white men, especially the tropical rain forests of the Amazon. Yet the forests and bushlands of the valley of the Paraná and of Matto Grosso have a favorable climate, ample rainfall, and good land. A very small percentage of the potentially arable land of Brazil is in use at present. More than one half of the cultivated land is in the three states of São Paulo, Minas Geraes, and Rio Grande do Sul. The construction of transportation facilities and the conquest of tropical diseases are necessary for vast expansion.

Brazil has more potential wealth than any other South American country, but much of this wealth is not essential for the foundation of world power. Coffee is the chief crop, São Paulo producing three fourths of it. The republic grows almost three fifths of the world's coffee. Cotton-growing is a new occupation of the Brazilians, with the production increasing four times since 1930. Cacao ranked third in value of Brazil's crops in 1938, and Brazil held second place in world production. Brazil raises some wheat, but imports four fifths of her supply, largely from Argentina. Though stock raising is expanding, Argentina has a big lead. The forests are rich in mahogany, rosewood, and pine. The wild rubber of the Amazon Valley was the source of the world's supply throughout the 1800's and the early 1900's, with Belém, at the mouth of the Amazon, the rubber capital of the world. By 1941 the Brazilians produced only one

per cent of the world's rubber because of a shift to plantation rubber in the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya, where cheap labor was available. The iron reserves of Brazil are great; much of the iron is a high-grade ore; about half of it is in the state of Minas Geraes. Little ore has been mined, but Brazil looks to the future. Brazilian reserves in manganese are very extensive, while there are also sources of mercury, chromium, quartz, mica, tungsten, and nickel. The republic is seriously deficient in coal, having deposits of low-grade bituminous coal located in inaccessible places at present, and generally unfit for smelting. Brazil imports coal from the United States and Great Britain, since her low-grade coal fields in the south meet about 10 per cent of the national consumption. Substantial production of oil in Brazil is a dream, although some Brazilian geologists have hopes for the future. Developed water power would help to a certain extent in making up for the lack of coal and oil. The state of São Paulo leads in the industrial development of Brazil, but three fourths of the people make their living from the soil. The Export-Import Bank of the United States is aiding in the development of industrial plants in the country.

Pedro Cabral discovered Brazil in 1500. By the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, between Spain and Portugal, the eastern part of South America fell to the Portuguese. The Brazilians have always been divided by sectional jealousies, whether as a colony of Portugal, an empire, or a republic. This is due to the vast expanse and the inadequate communications of the country. São Paulo and Minas Geraes have controlled national life for a long time, but Rio Grande do Sul has risen to a prominent position.

The railroads of Brazil, totaling about 20,712 miles, are largely in the southern part of the republic, with only a few along the

northern coast. Brazil has 40,000 miles of navigable streams and around 119,226 miles of roads of various descriptions. German, Italian, and American airlines were important in the republic before the outbreak of the war clipped the wings of the Axis planes. The people of Brazil are linked in the Portuguese language, although German and Italian communities speak their own tongues. Three races are found: the Indians as the natives, the Negroes as the former slaves, and the white men as the rulers of the country. The white population numbers over fifty per cent, the Negroes fourteen per cent, and the Indians two per cent, while the rest is largely composed of the blending of Negroes and whites, and of Indians and whites. However, there is a large unassimilated minority of Negroes who are illiterate and very poor, an element of weakness in the republic.

Brazil is a friend and ally of the United States. In both the First and Second World wars Brazil declared war on Germany. The United States was the first country to recognize the independence of Brazil; at the Pan American conferences Brazilian and American foreign policy have been generally the same; the United States is the best customer of Brazil. Portugal ruled Brazil from the first settlement in 1532 to 1822, when Brazil broke with the motherland. João VI, who moved to Rio de Janeiro during the Napoleonic period, returned to Lisbon in 1821, leaving his son as regent, who, as Pedro I, on September 7, 1822, proclaimed the independence of Brazil. He was succeeded, after a regency, by Pedro II, who was crowned in 1841. Pedro II was forced to abdicate in 1889, and the republic was formed. The Emperor had approved the end of slavery in 1889, antagonizing the landholders. He also had sought to subordinate the church to the state. Since November, 1930, Getulio Vargas has ruled

Brazil, putting down a revolt in São Paulo in 1932, suppressing a revolt in 1935, led by Luis Carlos Prestes, and dissolving the Green-Shirted Integralistas in 1937. At present Vargas rules largely by decree — no congress, no elections. Freedom of the press is limited.

Brazil's defenses prior to the outbreak of the war were weak and consisted of 82,000 enlisted men and over 500 officers, approximately 100 army and navy planes, and a fleet of two battleships, two cruisers, ten destroyers, and four submarines.

The water frontier of Brazil is 5,700 miles, and the land frontier is 7,500 miles. New York City is 4,717 miles from Rio, while Natal, on the hump of Brazil, is 1600 miles from Dakar in French West Africa. In the United States of Brazil are some 50,000 Germans born in the Reich and 800,000 to 900,000 second-, third-, and fourth-generation Brazilian-Germans. The Germans are found chiefly in Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul. The Nazi aviation network in Brazil, as well as Nazi propaganda, was very effective before the war. Almost 1,500,000 Italians have settled in Brazil since 1860. The problems of Brazil's defense are many, but the republic has mastered them with American aid in the war against Hitler.

Brazil now occupies a leading position in the councils of Latin America: in the first place, her whole-hearted co-operation in Pan American hemispheric solidarity has been seconded by all the Latin American states but one; in the second place, the only real rival of Brazil is Argentina, who finds herself diplomatically isolated in Latin America; in the third place, Brazil is being armed by the United States, with the result that she will be the leading military power in Latin America after the war. Brazil, with her space and population, with her natural resources and her favorable climate in vast areas, possesses more of the elements of geopolitical strength than any other Latin American country. On the other hand, Brazil lacks coal and petroleum; much of her great area is unfit for human settlement because of climatic conditions, and the republic has not achieved stability as we know it in the United States and Great Britain. Brazil, like China, will face vast problems of organization, both political and economic, before the Twentieth Century is over. From a geopolitical viewpoint, the collaboration of the United States, the great power of North America, and Brazil, the leading country of South America, is necessary for the interests of both countries in a world of uncertainty.

## Chapter Ten · Contributions of Geopolitics

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The contributions of geopolitics, as the geographic study of the state from the viewpoint of foreign policy, are significant: first, the general idea of the Arctic as a future Mediterranean; second, the important stress on bases in a world at war; third, the principle of regionalism in international relations; fourth, the need of studying history in its geographical background; fifth, the concept of defense in depth; sixth, the fundamental idea of the heartland; and seventh, the factors that comprise the world power of a state.

The Arctic as a future Mediterranean of the air is an idea that contains all the elements of probability. (*Figure 27*) The foreign policy of the states near the Arctic Ocean may be vitally affected. The Arctic itself is really a sea of the Atlantic Ocean. It is only 1500 nautical miles from Ellesmere Island to the mouth of the Lena River. In wintertime the entire Arctic freezes, except for a large area of the European Arctic extending to beyond Murmansk, a narrow channel north of Iceland, and an area along the southwest coast of Greenland almost to the arctic circle. In the Pacific and Atlantic the west coasts of continents are ice-free far to the north, while on the east coasts the waters are frozen in lower latitudes. By late summer a polar ice floe as large as the United States east of the Rockies is found, with a center about 400 miles from the north pole in the direction of Bering Strait. During the late weeks of the summer, open channels exist on all continental Arctic coasts. The famous Northwest Passage has been used by the Hudson's Bay Company, but the channel is very narrow. In Eurasia the Russian coast from Alaska to Archangel is ice-free

through August and September. The Soviets have made much more use of their Arctic sea route than have the Canadians.

Americans are experimenting in Arctic flying in Alaska. Magnetic and electrical disturbances impair instrument flying, beam control, and radio communications. The bitter cold raises the problems of handling metal bombsights, thawing out controls, and warming engines. On the other hand, cold polar air is relatively stable, and no icing occurs on an airplane if all the atmospheric moisture is frozen. Moreover, at 36,000 feet it is not appreciably colder over the north pole than it is over the equator. Arctic lands are filled with natural landing fields, and even the possibility of gas depots on the great ice floe is not absurd. The importance of the Arctic in an air age depends upon the great circle routes across the north pole areas from one place to another. In 1937, the Soviet fliers flew from Moscow over the north pole to California. It is actually shorter from Panama to Singapore by way of the Arctic. Three planes leaving northern Scandinavia, flying over the Arctic, could reach Maryland, Iowa, and Oregon at approximately the same time. Since three fourths of the land area of the earth is in the Northern Hemisphere centered around the north pole, certain Arctic areas would be extremely significant as bases in an air age.

American Arctic outposts are now Alaska, Greenland, and Iceland. Iceland is the size of Ohio, with a population of 120,000. It is a volcanic plateau with geysers and hot springs in some places and glaciers in others. The glacier-scoured fiords provide excellent harbors that never freeze. Al-





States forces were sent to Greenland in April, 1941. Greenland, the largest island on earth, has a population of 18,000, who live chiefly on the southeast and southwest fiorded coastal fringes. It is ice-free at the southern tip, while there are less than 20 foggy days a year. Greenland possesses weather-forecasting possibilities for northwestern Europe, as is revealed by the Nazi weather station captured on the island. Julianehaab is the only town of importance; the island like Iceland is under the theoretical rule of the Danish King. In April, 1941 the Danish Minister in Washington granted the United States the right to send forces to Greenland. The American bases are located on the southeastern and southwestern shores of the island.

The great circle routes from Chicago to Berlin or London, or from New York to Moscow, pass over Labrador. Labrador is the mainland part of Newfoundland, where the United States secured bases in September, 1940 as the result of the destroyer-base deal. The 290,000 people of Newfoundland, living in an area five times the size of Massachusetts, are chiefly located along the coast with one half of them in the Avalon Peninsula. The island is seriously handicapped by fogs and freezing. The United States bases are at St. George Bay in the western part of the island, where there is less fog, Placentia Bay on the southeast, and the Avalon Peninsula on the east. In April, 1942, American forces were sent to Labrador. The importance of the stepping stones in the north Atlantic are revealed in the distances between them: the Shetlands of Great Britain are 200 miles from Norway, the Faroes of Denmark now occupied by the British are 200 miles from the Shetlands, Iceland is 300 miles from the Faroes, Greenland is 700 miles from Iceland, and Labrador is a short distance from Greenland.

In the Pacific, Alaska has proved its value

to the United States in the Second World War. (*Figure 28*) Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867 for \$7,200,000. It is over twice the size of France and has a population of 73,000 people. Although Alaska is not self-supporting in food production, the Matanuska Valley project is an effort to establish farming in the country. Important occupations are salmon fishing, gold mining, and the gathering of furs. By air it is five and a half hours from Seattle to Juneau; by sea through the "Inside Passage" it is 860 nautical miles. By land the Alaskan Highway extends from Edmonton, Alberta, to Fairbanks, Alaska. A great circle air route from New York City or Chicago to Tokyo, from Kansas City to Shanghai, or from Seattle to Chungking crosses Alaska. The United States has naval bases in the Alaskan area at Sitka on the outer edge of the Alexander Archipelago, at Kodiak on Kodiak Island, and at Dutch Harbor on Unalaska. The Army Air Forces use Anchorage as the hub, with stations at Fairbanks, Haines, Metlakatla, and other places, while airfields have been established in Canada, along the Alaskan Highway, at Ft. St. John, Ft. Nelson, and Watson Lake. The Richardson Highway extends from Fairbanks to Valdez, while a railroad runs from Fairbanks through Anchorage to Seward, and another from Skagway to Whitehorse in Canada.

Stretching for 1000 miles towards Siberia from Alaska are the Aleutian Islands. Since they have a recent volcanic origin, little soil is found on them; about 2,000 Aleuts comprise the population. The waters are ice-free, but storms and fogs envelop the Aleutians 350 days of the year. The islands were acquired as a part of the Alaska Purchase in 1867. Unalaska has the only good harbor in the eastern Aleutians, while Kiska has the only good one in the western Aleutians. Kiska is 700 miles from Kamchatka

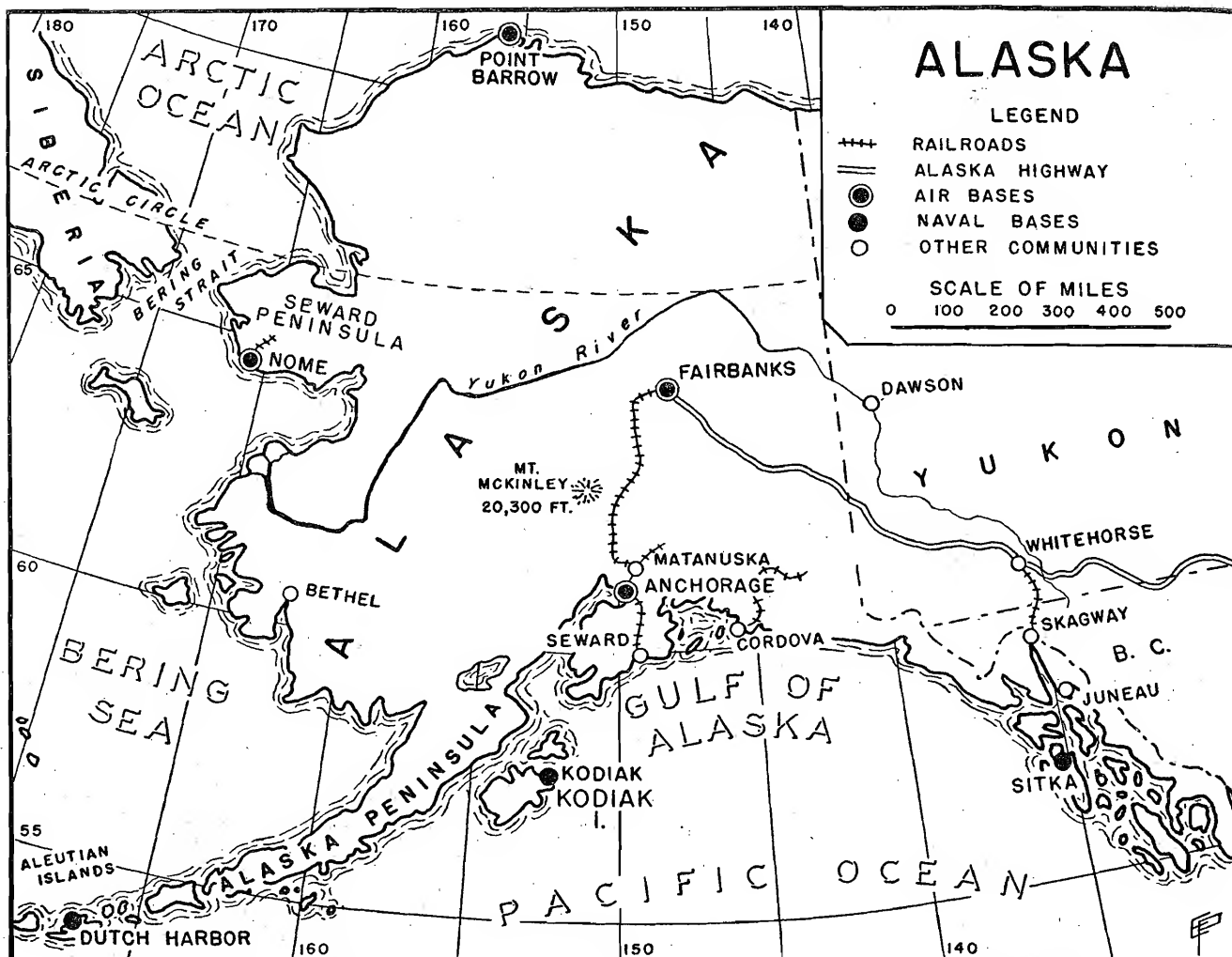


FIG. 28 · ALASKA · The air age brings new vitality to our northern outpost

and 2300 miles from Tokyo; Dutch Harbor is 1700 miles from Paramushiro, the leading Japanese base in the Kuriles. The Japanese bombed Dutch Harbor in June, 1942 and occupied the western Aleutians. By the middle of the summer of 1943 the Japanese had been forced to leave the last of these islands. The American conquest of the western Aleutian Islands involved first, the acquisition of Amchitka, east of Kiska, then of Attu, west of Kiska, and finally Kiska itself. The Japanese fought almost to the last man on Attu, an island only 40 miles long and 20 miles wide, but they evacuated Kiska, an island 25 miles long and 5 miles wide.

Space relationships in an aeronautical world of the future can be shown in a map centered at the north pole with the meridians radiating outward like spokes on a wheel and the parallels of latitude as concentric circles. Within the tropic of Cancer, areas are fairly accurate, within the equator they are less accurate, but beyond the equator great exaggeration takes place. On an air-age map centered around the Arctic the strategic air commerce zones of the future would be the North Atlantic area, the Dakar-Natal area, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the North Pacific, and the Japan to Singapore to north Australia area. Strategic airport locations of the future will be based

with reference to these commercial zones and the great circle routes of the Arctic. The patrol by an international airforce in a constant circuit of the vital areas of tomorrow may be a significant factor in the preservation of future world peace.

The geopoliticians of the world have stressed the importance of bases — land, sea and air — in the study of strategy. The foreign policy of many states in the post-war world may result in a scramble for bases. A brief survey of the Pacific in the Second World War will prove the value of this emphasis on bases. The Pacific Ocean is 10,000 miles from Bering Strait to Antarctica and over 10,000 miles from Panama to Singapore. It occupies 66 million square miles, or almost one half the water surface of the earth. It is not only the largest but also the deepest ocean on the globe. Most of the islands of the Pacific are in the western two thirds of the basin between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south. The eastern one third of the ocean is the most deserted region on earth. Major General Haushofer has stated that the beginning of a war in the Pacific calls for a quick surprise attack by one power on the other so as to gain an initial advantage. From then on, the conflict is one involving space in terms of vast distances and time in terms of crossing the space. Neither Japan nor the United States can knock the other out of the war unless it can attack the vital centers of the other. This would mean a Japanese invasion of the United States or an American invasion of Japan proper.

A modern fleet has an effective combat operating range of between 1500 and 3000 miles from the main base. If the American fleet were based on the west coast of the United States, it would have an effective operating radius for combat about as far as the Hawaiian Islands. The United States base of Pearl Harbor on the Island of Oahu in the Hawaiians prevents any Japanese

attack directly across the Pacific on the United States. On the other hand, the American Navy at Pearl Harbor lacks ample bases for a sustained attack on the main islands of Japan. A fleet traveling at 17 to 18 knots per hour requires two and one half days to cross 1000 miles of water. Furthermore, a modern fleet can travel about ten days without refueling. From San Francisco to Yokohama is 5216 miles by the North Pacific; from Honolulu to Yokohama is 3903 miles; from Honolulu to Manila is 5563 miles, and to Sydney 5083 miles. Moreover, the use of land as a base for planes is much more important than the use of aircraft carriers. As Major Seversky has pointed out, the aircraft carrier can be sunk, destroying the base for planes, but the land always remains above the water. The Japanese possess a defense screen of islands in the ocean around most of their own mainland, each important island being a stationary aircraft carrier. The Japanese Empire in the Pacific on November 1, 1943 extended from Paramushiro in the Kuriles, roughly 5000 miles south to the Gilbert Islands, and thence roughly 6000 miles west to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean. Finally, all fleets need docking facilities for the repair of ships. The size of modern capital ships increases the problems of docking facilities. Whereas American battleships in the 1890's were only of 10,000 tons, the *North Carolina* is 35,000 tons, the *Iowa* is 45,000 and the new battleship *Maine* under construction may be well over 50,000.

Prior to Pearl Harbor, the important docking facilities in the Pacific were at Singapore for the British, at Pearl Harbor for the Americans, and in the main islands of Japan for the Nipponese. In the Pacific, naval bases or naval stations of the United States are located at San Diego, San Francisco, and Seattle in the United States, in

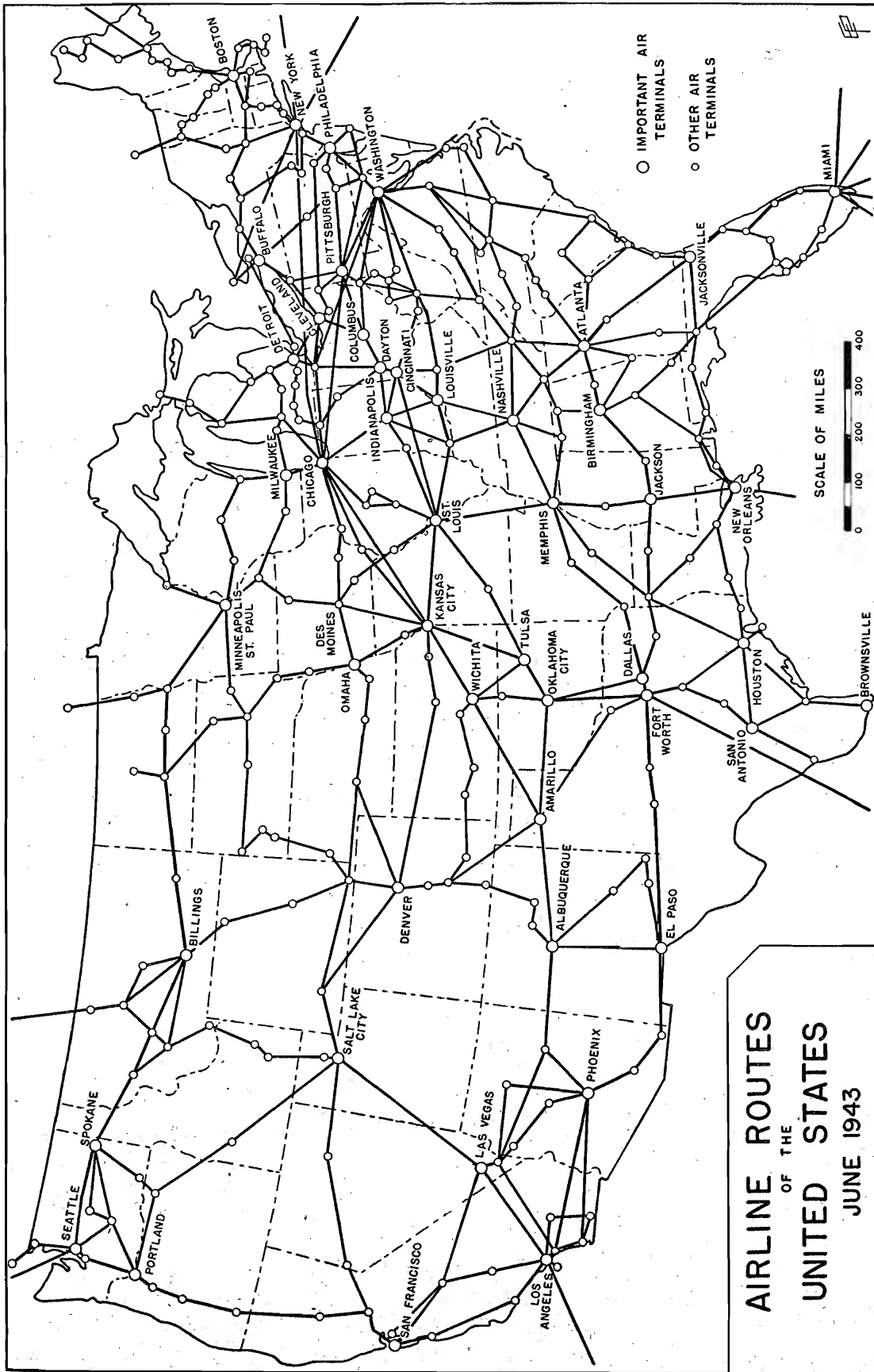


FIG. 29 · AIR ROUTES OF THE UNITED STATES · Every month sees new air routes and terminals projected. Watch this network grow

the Panama area, at Sitka, Kodiak, Dutch Harbor, and Kiska Island in the Aleutians, at Pearl Harbor on Oahu Island in the Hawaiians, and at Tutuila on Pago Pago in American Samoa. There are also others at Johnson's Island, Kingman Reef, Palmyra Island, Canton Island and Midway Island. Lost to the Japanese in the early stages of the war were Wake Island, Guam Island and Manila. The British naval bases or stations were Singapore and Hong Kong, both lost to Japan, while Darwin, Albany, Melbourne, and Sydney in Australia, Auckland in New Zealand, and Esquimalt in British Columbia are still under the British flag. The Japanese naval bases or stations are Wotje, Jaluit, Ponape, Truk, Saipan, Rota, Yap, and Palau, all in the Mandated Islands; the Bonin and the Ryukyu Islands, and Taiwan, Maizuru, Sasebo, Kure, Osaka, Ominato, and Yokosuka, all in Japan proper; Port Arthur in southern Manchukuo; and Camranh Bay in French Indo-China, which was acquired before Pearl Harbor. The Soviet naval bases or stations are Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka, Nikolaievsk at the mouth of the Amur, and Vladivostok, 700 miles from Tokyo. The Dutch naval bases were Surabaya in Java and Amboina in the Moluccas, both of which the Japanese now have. The naval balance of the Pacific, upset by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, has been restored, according to General Marshall, by the battles of the Coral Sea, May 7-11, 1942, and of Midway in June, 1942. The high tide of Japanese aggression in the Pacific came in August, 1942, just before the American marines landed at Guadalcanal. By the end of November, 1943, Japan had been gradually forced out of most of the Solomons, which extend for 1000 miles in a northwest to southeast direction, out of Papua, and out of important areas of northeastern New Guinea. The

object of the movement from the Solomons and northeastern New Guinea was Rabaul on the island of New Britain, the chief Japanese naval and air base in the southwest Pacific, south of the atoll of Truk in the Caroline Islands. Furthermore, the Japanese have been pushed out of the Gilbert Islands north of the Ellice Islands, and they have already lost their foothold in the western Aleutian Islands.

Still the Japanese in the Pacific have two systems of double-line defense in late November, 1943. The first system extends from the Netherlands Indies through northern New Guinea and the northern Solomons. Moreover, the second line back of the first is Singapore, Davao, Truk, and the Marshalls. Seen from the south Pacific, these lines are lines of defense, but seen from Midway they are lines of supply. The other double line of defense is the Marianas and Ogasawaras, with the Ryukyu Islands, Taiwan, and the Philippines back of the first. Seen from Port Moresby these appear as lines of supply, but seen from Midway they are lines of defense. Major General Haushofer significantly said as early as 1921 regarding Japanese expansion: "I am convinced that the Empire of the Rising Sun will continue to be successful in its conquest of space as long as it observes the rules of jiu-jitsu and, as before, avoids the dangers of an unbridled expansion."

The importance of a base is well illustrated by Singapore, off the tip of the Malay Peninsula. The island of Singapore was ceded to the British by the Sultan of Johore in 1819. The city of Singapore was built on the south end and the naval base on the north end, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. The naval base guarded three fourths of the land surface of the British Empire, defending the eastern approaches to India, the lands of the Indian Ocean, and the British and

Dutch possessions in the southwest Pacific. The base was formally opened on February 14, 1938 and possessed the facilities for repairing the biggest ships on earth. The city of Singapore has a population of more than 500,000, mostly Chinese, Indians, and Malays. Over its docks went almost one half of the world's tin and more than one half of the rubber of the world. From Singapore were guarded the oil fields of the Netherlands Indies and British Borneo, the loss of which provided the Japanese with ample petroleum for a long war and forced the Allies in Australia to transport oil from Iran or California. Finally, Singapore was a symbol of the West in Oriental eyes. The capture of the island by the Japanese, through a land invasion across the jungle swamps of the peninsula, lowered the estimation of the West substantially in the eyes of the peoples of the Far East. As a consequence of the fall of Singapore, the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean fell, the cities of Ceylon were bombed, Calcutta and Madras were visited by enemy planes, all the Netherlands Indies fell into the hands of the enemy, and the Japanese approached the outskirts of Australia.

With a background of the long distances of the Pacific and the distribution of bases in 1943, the problems of mass effective bombing of Japan proper are extremely difficult. In 1943 the fighter-escort range is roughly 300 miles, while the heavy-bombing operating range is 750 miles and the limit of a heavy bomber range is around 1000 miles. It is true that American bombers flew for 2400 miles in a round trip to bomb Surabaya in Java from Darwin, Australia, but the result at present is not mass effective destruction caused by perpetual performance. The Japanese possess the larger number of bases in the western Pacific; the Americans the better planes.

General Doolittle's raid on Tokyo is proof of the seriousness of the lack of adequate bases for the bombing of Japan proper. Shangri-la planned to get within 400 miles of Tokyo, but the aircraft carrier sighted a Japanese ship about 800 miles away from Japan and sank it. Consequently General Doolittle and his men put off from Shangri-la 400 miles farther away than they had planned and also in the face of a headwind. The bombing was successful; the men had practiced on targets in Florida. But after the raid was over where could the bombers go? They tried to reach friendly China; some of them were captured by the Japanese in enslaved China; some of the men finally got to Chungking; a small number of them were interned in Siberia. Either the acquisition of bases near Japan or the extension of the bombing range is necessary to defeat the Island Empire. Mass effective bombing, such as the British and Americans are using against the industrial Ruhr of Germany, is the only decisive way of using air power against the enemy. This brief summary of land, sea, and air bases as applied to the Pacific Ocean is an indication of the importance of the base as stressed by geopoliticians throughout the world.

Another geopolitical idea, worthy of consideration, is the concept of regionalism. Regionalism as a principle in international relations is the attempt to organize large areas of the world, usually but not necessarily continental in extent, in political, economic and cultural units under the leadership of a dominant power. The method of the Axis powers in Europe and in Asia is force imposed by a "superior" or a "divine" race upon the unwilling peoples of their jurisdiction, while the method of the United States in the New World is mutual co-operation voluntarily accepted by the members of the area. The Axis pictures the world of the future as divided into ex-



clusive political, economic, and cultural units, largely revolving in their own "proper" spheres, subject to no general world association. Many people in the democracies envision a world organized on a regional basis with substantial political, economic, and cultural relations among the units, subject to a general world organization.

The three major principles of regionalism are the geographic, economic, and political. The Axis interprets geography in terms of continents surrounded by oceans, while the United Nations interpret geography in terms of oceans surrounding continents. In reality, the oceans are no longer barriers, but avenues in the spread of political, economic, and cultural ideas. Neither the Axis propagandists nor the professional geographers have been able to construct a regional map of the world that meets the approval of all. However, general regional areas like the Soviet Union, East Asia, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere are evident. The Axis divides the world into self-sufficient economic units, while the democracies deny the validity of this conception. The distribution of raw materials as well as the natural channels of trade presents substantial evidence against the Axis idea of self-sufficiency. Long before the advent of totalitarianism the political principle of regionalism had been present in the Western Hemisphere, East Asia, and Europe. In the New World the dream of Simon Bolivar, the conferences of Latin American states, and the Pan American conferences are indicative of this trend; in Europe the various plans, from the Grand Design of Henry IV to the United States of Europe of Aristide Briand, are evidence of the same tendency; in East Asia Japan under the guise of Pan Asianism and later of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine has taken the leadership in an attempt to organize that area. The year 1933 marks a turning point in the history of political regionalism, with

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the Japanese withdrawal from the League of Nations, the ushering in of the New Order, the assumption of power by Adolf Hitler, on January 30, leading to the New Europe, and the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt with the resulting Good Neighbor policy.

The New Order in Europe is largely the work of one man — Adolf Hitler. The Third Reich was a political, economic, and cultural test tube for the New Order. The Führer has followed several general policies in his mastery of Europe: *Gleichberechtigung*, or equality of rights for Germany; by the destruction of the "criminal" treaty of Versailles; Pan Germanism, or the uniting of all Germans under the swastika of the Reich; *Lebensraum*, or living space, for the Nazis at the expense of the native peoples; the *Drang nach Osten*, with the goal of Kiev as well as of Baghdad; and finally *Grossraumwirtschaft*, or continental economy in the Adolf Hitler Age. The power of the Nazi Führer is expressed by various methods: direct annexations to the Reich, military conquest, "peaceful" occupation, and spheres of influence. The New Order envisions the people of the continent pursuing agricultural and menial tasks in the service of the citizens of the master race in Germany who monopolize the industrial wealth of Europe. Culturally the Adolf Hitler Age is based on the teachings of *Mein Kampf*, with the arts placed largely on a propaganda basis.

The Nazis not only borrowed the terminology but also the methods of the New Order from Japan. Economic, political and psychological factors led to the expansion of Japan in the 1930's at the expense of the peoples of East Asia, as well as the peace machinery of the world. The retreat of the democracies at Munich led to the proclamation of the New Order in East Asia while the fall of France led to the promulgation of the New Order in Greater East Asia.

Tokyo has used two general methods in governing her conquered areas: the establishment of puppet governments, as in Hsinking and Nanking, and the support of subservient regimes, as in French Indo-China and Thailand. The continued expansion of Japan to the south led to war with Great Britain and the United States, with Pearl Harbor as the Sarajevo of the Pacific. The Japanese have monopolized the conquered areas of East Asia for their own exclusive profit, both at the expense of the subjected peoples and of the Western Powers. From a cultural viewpoint the Nipponese picture themselves with a superior culture worthy of acceptance by all the peoples of the Far East. The New Orders in East Asia and in Europe are now subject to the decision of arms in the Second World War.

In the Western Hemisphere the United States serves as a link between the Latin American states on the one hand and the Dominion of Canada on the other. Since 1933 the Pan American conferences at Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Lima and the meetings of foreign ministers at Panama, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro have laid the foundation for a New Order based on mutual co-operation. After Pearl Harbor all the Latin American republics expressed their "solidarity" with the United States in varying degrees of collaboration. From an economic viewpoint, the Second World War has bound Latin America more closely to Washington on account of the dislocation of world trade. Many of the economic measures taken by the Pan American states have not only an emergency basis but also a long-range foundation for permanent collaboration. Considerable cultural progress has been made through the capable work of private and public agencies of the Pan American states. The ties uniting Ottawa and Washington are much closer than those

uniting the United States and Latin America. The establishment of defense and economic boards, facing the issues of war and anticipating the problems of peace, indicates the solidarity between Canada and the United States. The growing ties between the Dominion and the Pan American Union mark another step in the integration of the New World.

The New Orders in Europe and Greater East Asia are destined to ultimate destruction. On the other hand, the League of Nations of 1919 failed in its political aspects partly because of the failure to recognize the principles of regionalism. The organization of the Western Hemisphere along the regional lines of the present may prove the nucleus of a future global organization. The world of tomorrow should have a regional foundation subject to a world association.

Geopolitics is also proving that the study of both history and geography is necessary to understand the events of the war today and the peace tomorrow. The place where the fighting will occur, the nature of the combat, and even when the fighting will take place—in other words, the answers to the questions how, when and where—are conditioned by geography. At the peace conference the settlement of boundary controversies, the distribution of areas containing strategic raw materials, and the security of all states will be based on geographical conditions. The foreign policy of countries in peace and war is conditioned by the facts of geography. It is not accident that led the British Isles and the Japanese Isles to develop large overseas empires. It is not chance that caused the United States to accept the thesis of security between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It is not accident that caused Russia to seek a warm-water port and to develop land power. It is not chance that led Germany to co-operate with Japan first against Russia and later against the

United States. The proper approach to an understanding of events is history and geography. Geopolitics has stressed this factor in arousing interest in the earth and the state. The historian of the future should have a sound geographical background in order to become prominent in his field. Furthermore, the study of geography in our schools should not end with the grammar grades. In this war millions of Americans will return from overseas bringing back ideas that extend beyond the continental limits of the republic.

The value of the geopolitical concepts of defense in depth and selling space to gain time have been proved in the Second World War in the case of China and the U.S.S.R. and also in the case of Belgium and the Netherlands. Barring the establishment of a real workable plan of collective security, the small states of the world are doomed to be under the control of their larger, more powerful neighbors. Even in a system of collective security the voices of the great powers are bound to have more weight than those of the smaller states. The problem is to find a balance between the two extremes.

The geopolitical concept of the heartland is open to qualification. One thing is certain: the heartland is being developed as never before. It is probably true that whoever rules the world island commands the world; it is less true that who rules the heartland commands the world island. However, it may be that the powerful states of the coast land of the world island will be surpassed by the strong state of the heartland. It should be a cardinal point in American foreign policy never to allow the world island to come under the control of one power. The ability of conquering the world island is one thing; the probability is another. The conquest of the world island would involve the use of land power without the necessary use of sea power. The world

island would not be handicapped by a naval blockade once it was under a dominant power. The conquering state would have to defeat many rivals before it could accomplish its desire. Modern history indicates that once a state becomes too strong and upsets the balance of power, a combination of countries rises against it which results in the ultimate, though often not immediate, downfall of the would-be conqueror. Napoleon and William II followed the same path of defeat; Hitler and Tojo will meet the same fate. If once the conquest of the world island took place, the victorious state would have to monopolize the instruments of war in order to preserve its power. Before attempting to conquer the rest of the world, it would have to mobilize the world island as a gigantic base for land, sea, and air power. The conquest of the Americas would present many problems. The strength of the British sea power in the 1800's was due to the fact that in the far-flung areas where it was dominant the people did not possess strong enough land power back of the coast line. If India had been a strong land power, Great Britain, 6000 miles away, could never have occupied the subcontinent. China would never have been defeated in the Opium War, and Washington would never have been burned in 1814. A powerful United States would mean that an effort to conquer it from the outside would have to involve complete superiority of land power, air power, and sea power.

The geopolitical idea that the strength of the state depends upon the following factors is valid: location, size and shape, climate, population, natural resources and industrial capacity, and political and social organization. Because of these factors the United States and the Soviet Union will emerge from this war as the strongest powers on this earth. Until the restoration of the devastated areas of western Russia is com-

pleted, the United States will be the more powerful. That the Soviet Union may exceed the United States in inherent power is a possibility, but not yet a probability. The British Commonwealth-Empire cannot compare in future power with either the United States or the Soviet Union. The geopolitical center of the Anglo-Saxon peoples has crossed the Atlantic from London to Washington. The future of the British depends entirely upon close co-operation with the Americans, while both the British and American peoples should collaborate with the Russians if the world is to remain at peace in the future. France, provided the areas of the Tricolor in 1939 are restored and repaired, may be rated next to the British Commonwealth-Empire in geopolitical strength in the early years after the war. China will probably require many years for economic and political organization before she will attain a very powerful role in the world. The eventual rise of China as a world power is questionable, in view of her lack of certain essentials necessary for power in an iron-and-steel age. With the collapse of Japan, however, China will assume the leading position among the Asiatic people of the Far East. The return of Japan to the 1874 boundaries will remove most of the geo-

political elements of strength in the Island Kingdom. Japan as a world power is doomed.

On the other hand, the defeat of Naziism in Germany may eventually lead to a reconstructed Reich, co-operating with the other world powers in peace and having a strong voice in world affairs. Germany possesses more of the real elements of power than Japan. However, neither one can hope to compete with either the United States or the Soviet Union in the future. Italy has forever departed from the list of great powers if, indeed, she ever was a great power. Brazil is often mentioned as the most likely in Latin America to achieve the status of a world power. However, it is doubtful if she will ever reach this position, because of her deficiencies in coal and petroleum and the unfavorable climate in vast areas of the republic. Under present prerequisites, the pattern of a world power in the Twentieth Century is already set. Unless some startling new development occurs, such as the conquest of the tropics by the white man, or the harnessing of new sources of energy, the rest of the Twentieth Century belongs to the leadership of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the British Commonwealth-Empire.

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# APPENDIX

## THE EMPIRE OF THE RISING SUN

If Japan is restricted to her four main islands, she will lose:

1. Ryukyu Islands, 1874, taken from China
2. Kuriles, 1875, treaty with Russia. Bonin Islands, 1875
3. Formosa and the Pescadores, 1895, Sino-Japanese War (Treaty of Shimonoseki)
4. Karafuto, Dairen, and Port Arthur, 1905, Russo-Japanese War (Treaty of Portsmouth)
5. Korea, 1910, annexed (formerly independent)
6. Marianas, Carolines, Marshalls, 1920, German islands as C mandates to Japan
7. Manchuria, 1931-32, puppet state of Manchukuo
8. Jehol, 1933. North China and Inner Mongolia, 1933-1937, Japanese penetration
9. Important coastal areas of China, 1937-1943 Sino-Japanese War, 1937-? Hainan and Spratley Islands, 1939
10. French Indo-China, 1940, fall of France
11. The New Order countries of Greater East Asia added since December 7, 1941:

Philippine Islands	British Malaya
Thailand	Netherlands Indies
Burma	British North Borneo
Sarawak and Brunei	
Papua and British New Guinea	
New Britain and New Ireland	
The Solomons	
Gilbert Islands	
Nauru	
Wake and Guam	
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	
Portuguese Timor	
Hong Kong	
Western Aleutians	

## THE THREE GERMAN REICHS

### FIRST REICH (1871-1918), THE EMPIRE OF THE KAISERS

#### *In Europe*

1. 1871: Alsace-Lorraine from France
2. 1890: Helgoland by treaty with England

#### *Overseas*

1. 1884: German New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago
2. 1884: Cameroons; Southwest Africa; Togoland
3. 1885: German East Africa; the Marshalls
4. 1898: Kiaochow leased from China
5. 1899: Part of Samoa
6. 1899: Marianas and Carolines from Spain by treaty

### SECOND REICH, WEIMAR REPUBLIC (1918-1933), WORLD WAR I LOSSES, AT VERSAILLES (1919)

#### *In Europe*

1. North and Central Schleswig to Denmark
2. Alsace-Lorraine to France
3. Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium
4. Most of Posen and most valuable parts of Upper Silesia to Poland
5. The Polish Corridor with the Free City of Danzig
6. Memel seized by Lithuania 1923

#### *Overseas*

1. Islands north of equator as C mandates to Japan
2. Islands south of equator as C mandates to Australia or New Zealand
3. Possessions in Africa as B or C mandates to Belgium, France, South Africa, and Britain

### THIRD REICH — DER FÜHRER (1933-?)

1. 1935: Saar Basin after plebiscite
2. 1938: Austria and Sudetenland
3. 1939: Invasion of Czechoslovakia; annexation of Memel; conquest of Poland and Danzig
4. 1940: Invasion of Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, France; Italy as ally
5. 1941: Invasion of Greece, Yugoslavia, and Crete; invasion of Russia with Finland, Rumania, Hungary as active allies; Nazis in Egypt; war on the United States

## MARE NOSTRUM AS A DREAM IN ROME

1. 1889: Italian Somaliland and Eritrea
2. 1912: Libya and the Dodecanese, war with Turkey
3. 1919-20: World War I gains  
Metropolitan Italy gained South Tyrol, Küstenland, numerous Adriatic islands
4. 1924: Fiume from Yugoslavia
5. 1929: Vatican City established by Concordat
6. 1935-36: Ethiopia conquered
7. 1939: Albania conquered:

By June, 1943, Italian troops were occupying parts of Yugoslavia, Greece, Corsica, Nice, and Savoy, but the fasces had been driven from all the African Empire of Il Duce.

## THE RUSSIAN COLOSSUS

1. Drive toward the Straits. Congress of Berlin, 1878: Bessarabia, Kars, and Batum
2. Drive to the Middle East in direction of Afghanistan: 1884, Merv; 1885, Panjdeh
3. Drive in the Far East. Southern Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur as lease from China, 1898
4. The Revolution, 1917. Independence of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Bessarabia to Rumania, 1918. Russian Poland forms part of Polish state, 1918
5. Stalin's reinsurance against Hitler, 1939-40. War with Finland — Karelian Isthmus, Viipuri, west shores of Lake Ladoga, lease on Hangoe. Annexation of Baltic States, 1940. Bessarabia from Rumania to U.S.S.R., 1940
6. Stalin's territorial policy in the Far East. Sinkiang, Tannu Tuva, Outer Mongolia really Soviet units with Chinese sovereignty

## THE THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE

1. 1878: Cyprus — annexed 1914
2. 1882: Egypt occupied — alliance 1936
3. 1885: British East Africa (Kenya)
4. 1886: Upper Burma and Nigeria
5. 1887: Baluchistan
6. 1888: North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak
7. 1890's: Solomons, Rhodesias, areas in Siam
8. 1890: Zanzibar, Pemba, Uganda — treaty with Germany
9. 1898: Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, lease of Weihaiwei from China
10. 1909: Union of South Africa organized as dominion. All British areas south of Rhodesia except Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland

11. 1909: British Malaya consolidated
12. 1920: Mandates confirmed by action of League of Nations  
German possessions south of equator as C mandates to Australia or New Zealand  
German East Africa B mandate to England, as well as parts of Togoland and the Cameroons  
German Southwest Africa C mandate to Union of South Africa  
Iraq A mandate from Turkey, independent: 1932  
Palestine and Trans-Jordan A mandates from Turkey

The British now control many of the French, Danish, and Italian colonial possessions. On the other hand, the British have lost the Channel Islands to Germany and the Far Eastern possessions to Japan.

## THE THIRD REPUBLIC OF FRANCE (1871-?)

1. 1871: Loss of Alsace-Lorraine, Franco-Prussian War
2. 1881: The "Tunisian Pear" to the chagrin of Italy  
The Society Islands in the Pacific
3. 1880's and 90's: Continued penetration in French Indo-China, Siam, French West Africa, and Equatorial Africa
4. 1885: Madagascar
5. 1898: Kwangchow leased from China
6. 1906: New Hebrides — condominium with England
7. 1911: Morocco to the chagrin of Germany
8. 1919: Return of Alsace-Lorraine
9. 1919: B mandates of parts of the Cameroons and Togoland from Germany, and A mandate of Syria from Turkey

By fall, 1943, all the French Colonial Empire except French Indo-China under Japan had been placed under Allied control.

## LATIN AMERICAN CHANGES BASED ON UTI POSSIDETIS, 1810

1. War of the Pacific, 1879-82. Chile versus Peru and Bolivia. Chile acquired Antofagasta from Bolivia, Tarapaca from Peru, and Arica and Tacna for 10 years from Peru. In 1929 Peru regained Tacna. Bolivia landlocked
2. Venezuela — British Guiana dispute. Settled in 1899 largely through pressure of United States

3. Panama independent from Colombia 1903
4. Gradual expansion of Brazilian boundaries at expense of all her neighbors
5. Leticia dispute between Peru and Colombia. Settled in 1935 by the League of Nations and the United States, Leticia going to Colombia
6. Gran Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay — after open warfare settled in 1938, largely in favor of Paraguay
7. Peru-Ecuador dispute — settled in early 1942 during the Rio de Janeiro Conference. Ecuador much smaller

## AND OTHER CHANGES

### *Europe*

Congress of Berlin, 1878: Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro independent

Rumania: 1918, Bessarabia from Russia. Transylvania, Bukovina and two thirds of Banat of Temesvár from Austria-Hungary. In 1913 Dobrudja from Bulgaria

Czechoslovakia: 1919, Bohemia and Moravia from Austria. Slovakia from Hungary in 1920

Yugoslavia (Old Serbia): 1920, Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary; one third of Banat of Temesvár; 1919, Slovenia from Austria; 1919, minor gains from Bulgaria

Greece: Crete, 1913, from Turkey. Salonika, 1913. West Thrace, 1919, from Bulgaria

Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria — left independent by Allies after World War I

Albania: 1913, independent. 1939 annexed by Italy

Poland: 1919, Galicia from Austria. Posen, the Corridor, best of Upper Silesia from Germany; eastern area from Russia

Norway: 1905, independent from Sweden

Iceland: 1918, independent from Denmark

Eire: 1921, dominion

### *Asia*

Turkey, 1925 Mosul to Iraq; 1939, Alexandretta from France

Saudi Arabia — paramount power in Arabia

Philippine Commonwealth, independent July 4, 1946

### *Africa*

Belgian Congo to Belgium, 1908

Spanish Morocco, Spanish pact with France, 1904

Kionga Triangle, 1919, only Portuguese gain for World War I

Tangier — International City, 1923, occupied by Franco, 1940

## AMERICAN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

### PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II (SEPT. 1, 1939)

#### *In the Atlantic: centered around the Isthmus of Panama*

Puerto Rico, War with Spain, 1898

Panama Canal Zone, Treaty with Panama, 1903

Lease of Isle of Pines and Guantánamo from Cuba

Lease of Great Corn and Little Corn islands from Nicaragua; Navassa

Purchase of Danish West Indies, 1917 (Virgin Islands)

#### *In the Pacific: no orderly plan*

Midway, 1859

Alaska, purchase from Russia, 1867

Hawaii, annexation, 1898

Guam, Philippines, War with Spain, 1898

American Samoa, 1899

Wake, 1899, occupied 1935

Stationing of troops at Peking and Tientsin, Boxer Rebellion, 1900

Howland, Baker, Johnston's, Palmyra, Jarvis, Kingman Reef, Canton, Swains — islands acquired over a period of years

Canton and Enderbury, 1937, U. S. and Great Britain

### PERIOD OF ANXIOUS NEUTRALITY (1939-1941)

Destroyer-Base Deal with Britain, September, 1940

Newfoundland (Labrador), Bermuda, Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, British Guiana

Greenland, occupation with consent of Danish minister in Washington, April, 1941

Iceland, agreement with Iceland government, July, 1941

Dutch Guiana, Aruba, Curaçao, agreement with the Netherlands, late 1941

Since Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) the following places have been publicly listed in addition to American pre-war bases:

### *Europe*

Northern Ireland, England, Sicily, Italy

### *Africa*

Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, French West Africa (Dakar)

French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Chad), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Belgian Congo, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Eritrea, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, Ascension

*Asia*

Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, India, Ceylon, China, Kuwait

*Australasia*

Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Fiji, Ellices, Gilberts

*The Americas*

Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Galapagos, Ecuador, Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, Canada, Peru, Chile, Labrador

Lend-lease supplies are now authorized to all countries except the Axis, with its satellite and occupied areas, and except the following " neutrals " Eire, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Afghanistan, and Argentina. Turkey, with diplomatic relations with the Axis, is on the lend-lease list. The line-up against the Axis to date (November 1, 1943) is 48 states: 33 United Nations (declarations of war), 10 Associated Nations (severance of relations) and 5 nations in a special category (France, Italy, Denmark, Saudi Arabia, and Portugal).

# INDEX

- Adams, John Quincy, 81  
 Addis Ababa, 177  
 Aden, 27; Gulf of, 13  
 Adriatic Sea, 175-176  
 Afghanistan, 8, 131-132, 154  
 Africa, 91; French possessions, Map, 172;  
   Italian colonies, 177  
 Agriculture, 70; Brazil, 178; Brit-  
   ish Commonwealth-Empire, 154-155;  
   China, 165-166; United States, 87  
 Air power, 18, 188  
 Air routes, 46; Map, 83  
 Air strategy, 6  
 Air zones, strategic, 184-185  
 Airline distances, Map, 182  
 Airline routes, United States, Map, 186  
 Alaska, 82, 91, 129, 181-184; Map, 85,  
   92, 182, 184; Alaskan Highway, 45,  
   183; Map, 184  
 Albania, 8, 61, 69, 71, 78, 176  
 Aleutian Islands, 124, 129, 183-184, 187;  
   Map, 85, 92  
 Alexandria, 27  
 Algeria, 91, 172; Map, 172  
 Alsace, 75  
 Aluminum, 40, 78, 89  
 Amazon Lowland, 32  
 Amazon River, 178  
 Amboina, 27, 187  
 Amchitka, 124, 184  
 American-Mexican boundary, 86-87  
 Amu River, 12  
 Amur River, 130  
 Anchorage, 183; Map, 184  
 Andaman Islands, 26, 124, 188  
 Andes, 29  
 Andorra, 29, 79  
 Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 91, 144, 172  
 Anglo-German Naval Treaty, 64  
 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 98  
 Anglo-Russian entente, 131  
 Anti-Comintern pact, 58, 70, 79, 121  
 Antigua, 28, 91  
 Antimony, 40, 89  
 Antonescu, General, 71  
 Antwerp, 66  
 Apennines, 175  
 Arabia, Bridge of, 13  
 Aral, Lake, 12  
 Archangel, 31, 181  
 Arctic flying, 181  
 Arctic Mediterranean, 181; Map, 182  
 Arctic Ocean, 12, 84, 129, 181; Map, 85,  
   182  
 Ardennes, 170  
 Argentina, 8  
 Arita, Hachiro, 22, 106, 115-117  
 Armenia, 140; Map, 141  
 Articles of Confederation, 90  
 Aruba, 91  
 Asbestos, 40  
 Ascension, 91; Map, 92  
 Asia, 91; New Order in, 117  
 Assab, 177  
 Associated Nations, 8  
 Atlantic Ocean, 91-92; Map, 83  
 Atoll, 30-31, 100  
 Attu, 124, 184  
 Auckland, 27, 187  
 Australasia, 91  
 Australia, 8, 91, 144-145, 150-152, 154;  
   Map, 92, 145; Capitals, 156; Com-  
   position, 157; Physical features, 156;  
   Population, 17  
 Austria, 57, 59-60, 70, 75  
 Austrian-Hungarian Empire, 60, 62  
 Avalon Peninsula, 183  
 Axis aggression, high tide, 3; Map, 4  
 Axis-dominated areas, Map, 4, 51  
 Axis powers, 92  
 Axis, States of the, 8  
 Azerbaijan, 140; Map, 141  
 Azores, 26, 78, 149, 156  
 Bab-el-Mandeb, Strait of, 12, 27  
 Badoglio, Marshal, 46  
 Baghdad, 27, 68, 74; Map, 69  
 Bahama Islands, 28, 91  
 Baikal, Lake, 129-130  
 Baker Island, 91  
 Balearic Islands, 79  
 Balkans, 68-72  
 Baltic States, 45, 132-133  
 Bangkok, 27  
 Base areas, 18  
 Base points, 18  
 Bass Strait, 27  
 Bataan Peninsula, 26  
 Batavia, 27  
 Battle of Britain, 68, 155  
 Bauxite, 41, 70, 89; Map, 39  
 Belgian Congo, 91  
 Belgium, 8, 66, 75, 77, 170; Invasion, 7  
 Belgrade, 77  
 Belorussia, 140; Map, 141  
 Beneš, Dr. Edward, 60-61  
 Bergen, 29, 65  
 Berlin, Map, 69  
 Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad, 45, 68;  
   Map, 69  
 Bermuda, 91; Map, 92  
 Bessarabia, 71, 132-133  
 Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor, 7  
 Bismarck Archipelago, 124, 157  
 Bismarck, Otto von, 9, 68, 74  
 Bizerte, 177  
 Blitzkrieg, Diagram, 135; Tactics, 134;  
   Technique, 67  
 Blum, 77  
 Bohemia, 57, 60-61, 64, 74  
 Bohemia-Moravia, 62  
 Bolivia, 8, 33  
 Bomber range, 188  
 Bonin Islands, 98, 101, 126, 187  
 Borinquen, 28  
 Boris, King, 71  
 Borneo, British, 124, 188  
 Bosnia, 78  
 Bosphorus, 26  
 Boxer Rebellion, 91  
 Bratislava, 61  
 Brazil, 8, 90-91; Map, 92; Agriculture,  
   178; Geopolitics, 178-180; Govern-  
   ment, 179-180; Mineral resources,  
   179; Population, 178; Potential wealth,  
   178; Regions, 178  
 Brenner Pass, 59  
 Brest, 170  
 Britain, Battle of, 68, 155  
 British Commonwealth-Empire, 24-25,  
   41, 122; Map, 144-145; Agriculture,  
   154-155; Air routes, 149-150; Area,  
   147-148; Climate, 147-148; Com-  
   position, Table, 146; Condominiums,  
   154; Crown colonies, 153; Dependen-  
   cies, 152; Dominions, 147; Geopoliti-  
   cal weaknesses, 164; Geopolitics, 143-  
   164; Government, 151-152; Lifelines,  
   Map, 144-145; Mandates, 154; Or-  
   ganization, 46, 147; Population, 24,  
   35, 150; Position, 145-147; Protec-  
   torates, 153-154; Sea routes, 149  
 British Empire, *see* British Common-  
   wealth-Empire  
 British Guiana, 89, 91; Map, 92  
 British Isles, 94; Map, 92  
 Bridge of Arabia, 13  
 Bridgehead of France, Map, 14  
 Brindisi, 175  
 Brunei, 124  
 Buffer area, Map, 128  
 Bukovina, 71, 133  
 Bulgaria, 8, 69-72, 75, 121, 133  
 Burma, 8, 30, 115, 124, 151  
 Burma Road, 30, 45-56, 108, 169; Map,  
   96  
 Buryat-Mongolia, 131  
 Cagliari, 176  
 Calcutta, 188  
 California, 81  
 Cameroons, 172  
 Camranh Bay, 118-119, 187  
 Canada, 8, 28, 42, 84-87, 91, 150-152,  
   154, 157-164; Map, 85, 144; Bound-  
   aries, 160-161; Foreign trade, 158-  
   159; French population, 159; Govern-  
   ment, 159-160; Physical features, 158;  
   Population, 158  
 Canadian-American boundaries, 86-87  
 Canberra, 157  
 Canton, 107-108, 115, 165  
 Canton Island, 91, 187

- Cape Bon, 12  
 Cape of Good Hope, 149  
 Cape to Cairo Railway, 45  
 Cape Town, 27, 149-150  
 Caribbean, defense of, 27; America, 84-85; Map, 83  
 Carol, King, 71  
 Carolines, 99-100, 187  
 Caspian Sea, 13  
 Catania, 176  
 Caucasus, 134; Map, 136  
 Central America, 84-85  
 Ceylon, 27, 91, 151, 153, 188  
 Chahar, 104, 106-107  
 Chamberlain, Prime Minister, 61  
 Changkufeng Hill, 130  
 Channel Islands, 144  
 Chelyabinsk, 139  
 Chetnicks, 78  
 Chiang Kai-shek, General, 106, 110, 112-114, 120, 168; Madame, 124  
 Chile, 8, 26, 28-29, 91; Map, 92  
 China, 8, 25, 30, 97-115, 117-118, 120, 122, 126, 188; Map, 92, 96; Agriculture, 165-166; Central government, 113; Climate, 165; Composition, 165; Geopolitics, 165-169; Mineral resources, 167; Open door, 93, 100; Population, 35, 165-166; Rivers, 167; Transportation facilities, 166-167; Twenty-one Demands to, 100; Wang Ching Wei's, 8; Waterpower, 167  
 Chinese Turkestan, *see* Sinkiang  
 Christmas Island, 124  
 Chromium, 40  
 Chungking, 30, 95, 108, 122, 165, 188  
 Churchill, Winston, 24, 65, 67, 79, 123, 155, 158, 162  
 Ciano, Count, 21, 70  
 Clausewitz, General, 6-7  
 Climate, British Commonwealth-Empire, 147-148; China, 165-166; Prime factor of, 31-34; Soviet Union, 134; United States, 87  
 Climatic Regions, Map, 31  
 Coal, 78, 89, 137, 154, 167-168; Map, 39  
 Colombia, 8, 85  
 Commander Islands, 129  
 Communism, 133, 137  
 Congo Basin, 32  
 Congo River, 13  
 Congress of Vienna, 8  
 Constitution of the United States, 90  
 Copper, 41, 79, 89; Map, 39  
 Coral Sea, Battle of, 187  
 Corn Islands, 91  
 Corsica, 177  
 Costa Rica, 8, 91  
 Coulandre, Ambassador, 68  
 Crete, 26, 72  
 Crimean Peninsula, 26, 131  
 Crimean War, 127, 131-132  
 Critical materials, 40  
 Croatia, 8, 75, 77-78, 121, 133  
 Croats, 71-72, 77-78  
 Cuba, 8, 84, 91  
 Curaçao, 91  
 Cvetkovitch, Premier, 71  
 Cyprus, 5, 145  
 Cyrenaica, 177  
 Czechoslovakia, 8, 57, 60-61, 70, 74-76  
 Dairen, 99  
 Dakar, 27, 91, 173; Map, 83  
 Daladier, 61, 67, 77  
 Dalmatia, 78  
 Danubian Basin, 60  
 Danzig, 29, 64-65  
 Dardanelles, 26  
 Darwin, 27, 187-188  
 Davao, 187  
 Defense in depth, 85, 133-134, 164  
 Denmark, 8, 65, 75-76, 121  
 Deserts, 32-33  
 Dewey, Admiral, 82-84  
 Diego Suarez, 27  
 Disarmament Conference, 58  
 District of Columbia, 87  
 Dnepropetrovsk, 138  
 Dneprostroy dam, 137-138  
 Dobrudja, 71  
 Dodecanese Islands, 176-177  
 Doihari, General, 104  
 Dollfuss, Chancellor, 59  
 Dominican Republic, 8  
 Donetz Basin, 78  
 Doolittle, General, 188  
 Dover, Strait of, 26, 94, 155  
 Drang nach Osten, 57, 63, 68, 73-74, 189  
 Dunkerque, 66, 170  
 Dutch Harbor, 27, 183-184, 187; Map, 184  
 East Asia, New Order in, 102, 108-109, 115, 121, 189-190  
 Eastern Front, Map, 51  
 Economic penetration, 71; Map, 51  
 Ecuador, 8, 91-92  
 Eden, Anthony, 120  
 Edmonton, 183  
 Egypt, 5, 8, 91, 150, 154, 177; Map, 92  
 Eighth Route Army, 107  
 Eire, 8, 145, 150-151  
 El Agheila, 177  
 El Alamein, 26, 177  
 Eliot, Major George Fielding, 14  
 Ellice Islands, 91, 187  
 Emmanuel II, King Victor, 47  
 Enderbury Island, 91  
 England, 91, 150  
 Eritrea, 91, 177  
 Esquimalt, 187  
 Essential materials, 40-41  
 Estonia, 132-133, 140; Map, 141  
 Ethiopia, 8, 33, 177  
 Ethnography, 36  
 Eupen, 75  
 Euphrates River, 13  
 Europe, Fortress of, Map, 51; Inland waterways, 44; New Order in, 73, 79, 189-190; 'Soft underbelly of, 12, 30  
 Fairbanks, 183; Map, 184  
 Faroe Islands, 65, 183  
 Fascism, 47, 55, 174-175  
 Fiji Islands, 91; Map, 92  
 Finland, 8, 75, 121, 132-133  
 Fiume, 176  
 Five-year plan, 136, 138  
 Flanders, Battle of, 66  
 Florence, 175  
 Food production, 43  
 Foreign trade, 70  
 Formosa, *see* Taiwan  
 Fort Lamy, 27  
 Fortress of Europe, Map, 51  
 France, 8, 15, 25, 28, 41, 60, 66-67, 77, 98; Airlines, Map, 171; Area, 169; Boundaries, 170; Bridgehead of, Map, 14; Colonies, 119, 172-173; Gateways, 170; Geopolitics, 169-173; Location, 169; Mineral resources, 170; Occupied, 75; Organization, 47; Population, 34-35, 170-172; Self-sufficiency, 170; Shape, 170; Vichy, 75, 78  
 Franco, General, 54, 79, 169-170  
 Franco-Japanese Agreement, 98  
 Franco-Prussian War, 17, 169  
 Freetown, 149  
 French Colonial Empire, Mineral resources, 172  
 French Equatorial Africa, 91, 173; Map, 172  
 French Guiana, 172  
 French Indo-China, 115, 118-119, 122, 173  
 French Possessions, Africa, Map, 172  
 French Somaliland, 172; Map, 172  
 French West Africa, 91, 172-173; Map, 172  
 Fulcrum of world power, 14; Map, 14  
 Fusan, 27  
 Gadsden Purchase, 81  
 Galapagos, 91; Map, 92  
 Gamelin, 66, 77  
 Gdynia, 64  
 Genoa, 175  
 Geography, study of, 7, 191  
 "Geopolitics," 9  
 Geopolitical Institute of Munich, 4-6, 9, 15-16, 19, 72, 79  
 Geopolitical manometers, 17  
 Geopolitics, Brazil, 178-180; British Commonwealth-Empire, 143-164; China, 165-169; Concepts, 191; Contributions, 181-192; Definition, 4-8; Evolution, 10-24; France, 169-173; German school, 4-5; Germany, 49-79; Italy, 173-178; Map, 174; Japan, 94-126; Military, 18; Prime factors, 25-48; Soviet Union, 127-142; Map, 128; Third Reich, 49-79; United States, 80-93  
 George VI, King, 151-152  
 Georgia S. S. R., 140; Map, 141  
 Germany, 8, 15, 25, 41-43, 121, 123, 133, 169, 189; Map, 51; First Reich, 58-59, 68; Geopolitics, 49-79; Organization, 47; Population, 24, 34-35; Second Reich, 59; Self-sufficiency, 17; Third Reich, 49-79  
 Gestapo, 56, 60  
 Gibraltar, 5, 18, 79, 149-150, 175; Strait of, 12, 27  
 Gilbert Islands, 91, 124, 187  
 Girdle of Wilderness, 15; Map, 14



- Gleichberechtigung, 57, 189  
 Gobi Desert, 163  
 Goebbels, Dr. Joseph, 5, 56, 73  
 Gold Coast, 91  
 Göring, 57  
 Gorki, 138  
 Great Britain, 8, 15, 18, 29, 64, 91, 101, 131-133; Map, 14; Location, 155  
 Great circle routes, 183  
 Great Lakes, 44  
 Great powers, definition, 7  
 Great Wall, 104  
 Greater East Asia, 94, 117-118; Co-prosperity Sphere, 117; New Order in, 93-94, 118, 122, 124, 189-190  
 Greece, 8, 69-72, 75, 78  
 Greenland, 27, 65, 82, 91, 156, 181-183; Map, 83, 92, 182  
 Greenwich, England, 25  
 Grossraumwirtschaft, 57, 73, 189  
 Guadalcanal, 187; Map, 92  
 Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Treaty of, 81  
 Guadeloupe, 172  
 Guam, 84, 91, 100, 124, 187  
 Guantánamo, 28, 91  
 Guatemala, 8, 91; Map, 92  
 Guerrilla warfare, 78, 107, 110; Map, 51  
 Gustav, King, 76
- Haakon, King, 65, 76  
 Hácha, Dr. Emil, 61  
 Haifa, 27  
 Hainan, 115-116  
 Haiti, 8, 91  
 Hammerfest, 27  
 Hangoe, 133  
 Hankow, 107-108  
 Hanoi, 118  
 Haushofer, Major General, 4, 11, 28, 30, 35-36, 50-52, 57, 69, 72, 88, 93, 134, 164, 185, 187; Albrecht, 16; Ideas of, 8, 16-19; Writings of, 15-19  
 Hawaiian Islands, 82-84, 91, 148-149, 185, 187; Map, 85, 92  
 Heartland, 12-15, 133-135, 191; Map, 12, 14  
 Helgoland, 27  
 Henderson, Nevile, 24, 61, 64  
 Herzegovina, 78  
 Hess, Rudolf, 15, 52  
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 76  
 Highways, 45  
 Himalaya Mountains, 12  
 Hirohito, Emperor, 20, 122  
 Hirota, Koki, 106  
 Hitler, Adolf, 3, 11, 15-16, 18, 21-24, 29, 36, 47, 49-66, 68, 71-76, 78-79, 102, 123, 127, 133, 189; Youth, 56  
 Hokkaido, 94  
 Honduras, 8  
 Hong Kong, 18, 27, 82-84, 101, 124, 144, 164, 169, 187  
 Hopei, 106-107, 113  
 Howland Island, 91  
 Hugenberg, Minister of Economics, 50  
 Hull, Secretary, 114-116, 120, 122-123  
 Hungary, 8, 61, 69-72, 75, 121, 133
- Ice-breakers, 14, 129, 131
- Ice-free ports, 131, 133; Map, 128  
 Ice pack, 181; Map, 182  
 Iceland, 8, 23, 31-32, 65, 82, 91, 149, 156, 181-183; Map, 83, 92, 182  
 India, 8, 32, 91, 144, 150-153, 164, 187; Map, 92, 145; Population, 35  
 Industrial capacity, Map, 38; Prime factor, 37-46  
 Industrial centers, Map, 58; Soviet Union, 138  
 Industrial heart of Japan, 125; Map, 97  
 Inland-sea route, 149  
 Inner Mongolia, 98, 107, 111, 113-114, 130  
 Inonu, President, 79  
 Inside Passage, 45, 183  
 Iran, 91, 131-132, 154; Map, 92  
 Iranian upland, 13  
 Iraq, 8, 91, 154, 173; Map, 92  
 Irkutsk, 135, 139  
 Iron ore, 40-41, 76, 78-79, 89, 138, 154, 167-168, 179; Map, 39  
 Irrawaddy River Valley, 27  
 Ishii, Viscount Kikujiro, 95, 98  
 Ishimaru, 115  
 Istanbul, 27  
 Italian East Africa, 175, 177  
 Italian Republic, 8  
 Italian Somaliland, 177  
 Italy, 8, 25, 41, 55, 61, 67, 75, 78-79, 91, 121, 123; Map, 174; African colonies, 177; Diplomacy, 176-177; Fascists, 21; Foreign trade, 176; Geopolitics, 173-178; Mineral resources, 176; Organization, 47; Physical features, 175; Position, 175
- Jaluit, 100, 187  
 Jamaica, 28, 91  
 Japan, 8, 19, 25, 29, 41-42, 89, 121, 127, 165, 185, 190; Map, 85, 96; Geopolitics, 20-23, 94-126; Industrial heart, 125; Map, 97; Mineral resources, 103; Organization, 47; Population, 17, 35, 103; Sea of, 94, 130; Map, 96-97; Territorial expansion, Table, 105  
 Japanese aggression, high tide, 187  
 Japanese Empire, 29, 124-125, 185; Map, 96  
 Japanese Mandate Islands, 93, 99, 126, 187; Map, 96  
 Jarvis Island, 91  
 Jehol, 103-104  
 Johnston's Island, 91, 187  
 Julianehaab, 183
- Kaiser Wilhelm II, 68  
 Kamchatka Peninsula, 129; Map, 96  
 Kamikawa, Hikomatsu, 22  
 Karachi, 27  
 Karaganda, 136, 140  
 Karelian Isthmus, 133  
 Karelo-Finnish Republic, 133, 140; Map, 141  
 Kattegat, 65  
 Kazakh, 140; Map, 141  
 Khabarovsk, 139-140  
 Kharkov, 138
- Kiev, 68, 74, 138  
 King George VI, 151-152  
 King, MacKenzie, 159, 161-163  
 Kingman Reef, 91, 187  
 Kirghiz, 140; Map, 141  
 Kiska, 124, 184, 187  
 Kjellen, Rudolf, 4; Writings of, 11  
 Knox, Secretary of the Navy, 26  
 Kobe, 125  
 Kodiak Island, 183, 187  
 Komaki, Sunekichi, 20  
 Komsomolsk, 130, 136, 139-140  
 Konoye, Prince, 97, 108, 112-113, 117, 120  
 Korea, 94-95, 98-99; Map, 96  
 Krasnoyarsk, 137, 139  
 Kristiansand, 65  
 Krivoi Rog, 138  
 Kuomintang, 110-111, 113-114, 166, 168  
 Kurile Islands, 98, 126, 129; Map, 96  
 Kurusu, Ambassador, 21, 123  
 Kuwait, 91  
 Kuznetsk Basin, 137-140  
 Kwantung Army, 95, 99, 104, 110, 130  
 Kyoto, 125
- Labrador, 183; Map, 92  
 Ladoga, Lake, 133  
 Lae, 157  
 Lampedusa, 176-177  
 Land power, 18  
 Language, 37, 137, 152  
 Lansing-Ishii Agreement, 98  
 Latvia, 132-133, 140; Map, 141  
 Laval, 67  
 Lead, 41, 89  
 League of Nations, 7, 58, 93, 101-102, 104, 190  
 Lebensraum, 4, 11, 35, 57, 62-63, 68, 70, 73-76, 189; Definition, 17, 63  
 Lena River, 12  
 Lenaland, 135  
 Lend-lease bases, 91; Map, 83  
 Lenin, 140  
 Leningrad, 17, 132, 138-139  
 Leopold, King, 66, 77  
 Leros, 176  
 Lesser Antilles, 28  
 Ley, Dr., 73  
 Liaotung Peninsula, 97-99, 131  
 Liberia, 8, 32, 91; Map, 92  
 Libya, 91, 177  
 Liechtenstein, 29  
 Limpopo River, 13  
 Lin Yu-t'ang, 17  
 Linosa, 176-177  
 Lisbon, 78-79  
 List, Friedrich, 10  
 Lithuania, 61, 64, 132-133, 140; Map, 141  
 Locarno pacts, 58  
 Location, France, 169; Great Britain, 155; Prime factor, 25-28; Soviet Union, 129  
 London, 27, 68, 154-156  
 Lorraine, 75  
 Louisiana Purchase, 80-81  
 Lukouchiao, 106  
 Luxembourg, 8, 29, 66, 75  
 Lytton Commission, 98, 101

- MacArthur, General Douglas, 42-43, 120  
Macedonia, 78  
Mackinder, Sir Halford, 127, 134-135, 164; Ideas of, 11-15; Map, 12, 14  
Madagascar, 26, 172  
Madras, 188  
Madrid, 78  
Magellan, Strait of, 82  
Magenot Line, 65-67, 170  
Magnesium, 41  
Magnitogorsk 136, 138  
Mahan, Admiral Alfred Thayer, 6, 149; Teachings of, 82-84; Writings of, 13  
Makassar, Strait of, 26  
Malacca, Strait of, 26-27  
Malay Peninsula, 26, 153, 187; Map, 125; British, 124  
Malmédy, 75  
Malta, 5, 26-27, 144, 149-150, 153  
Manchukuo, 8, 106-107, 109-110, 113, 121, 130, 165; Map, 96  
Manchuria, 95, 97, 101-104, 109, 115, 126, 169; Incident, 95-96  
Manganese, 40, 89  
Manila, 27, 187; Bay, 84  
Mannerheim Line, 133  
Manometers, geopolitical, 17  
Manufacturing regions, Map, 38  
Marco Polo Bridge, 3, 30, 106-107, 168  
Mare Nostrum, 55, 173  
Mareth Line, 177  
Marianas, 99-100, 187  
Marseille, 27  
Marshall, General, 187  
Marshall Islands, 99-100  
Martinique, 172  
Marz, Josef, 16  
Matanuska Valley, 183  
Matchek, 78  
Matruh, 177  
Matsuoka, Foreign Minister, 117-118, 120  
Maull, Otto, 6, 16-17  
Mediterranean, 67, 149, 175-176  
*Mein Kampf*, 16, 23-24, 52-53, 56, 59, 76, 189  
Melanesia, 116  
Melbourne, 187  
Memel, 57, 61  
Mercury, 40, 79, 89  
Messina, 176; Strait of, 26  
Metlakatla, 183  
Mexico, 8, 84-87; Gulf of, 80; Map, 83  
Miami, 27  
Mica, 40  
Michael, King, 71  
Micronesia, 116  
Midland Ocean, 15  
Midway, 91, 187; Battle of, 187  
Milan, 175  
Military geopolitics, 18  
Military strategy, 6  
Mineral resources, 107; Brazil, 179; China, 167; France, 170; French Colonial Empire, 172; Italy, 176  
Minorities, 37, 70-71  
Miquelon, 149, 172  
Mississippi River, 80, 88  
Missouri River, 14-15  
Mittel-Europa, 62  
Moldavia, 133, 140; Map, 141  
Molotov, Foreign Commissar, 24  
Molybdenum, 41, 89  
Mona Passage, 28  
Monaco, 29  
Mongolia, 165  
Mongolian uplands, 13  
Monroe Doctrine, 16, 22, 81-82, 93-98, 129, 161  
Monsoons, 32  
Montenegro, 78  
Montevideo, 68  
Montgomery, General, 32  
Moravia, 57, 61, 64, 75  
Morocco, 79, 91, 172; Map, 172  
Moscow, 17, 30, 138-139  
Munich Agreement, 61  
Munich Institute of Geopolitics, 4-6, 9, 15-16, 19, 72, 79  
Murmansk, 31, 44, 133, 140  
Mussolini, Benito, 9, 47, 54-55, 59, 67, 123, 173, 176; Italian Republic, 8  
Nagasaki, 27  
Nagoya, 125  
Nanking, 94, 107, 113-114, 121; Puppet Government, 111, 190  
Naples, 175, 178  
Napoleon, 6, 30, 49, 65, 73, 134, 169  
Narvik, 29, 65  
Natal, 27, 180; Map, 83  
Natural resources, 85, 90; Japan, 124-125; Prime factor, 37-46; Soviet Union, 137  
Naumann, Friedrich, 62  
Nauru, 124  
Naval strategy, 6, 82, 148-149  
Navassa, 91  
Nazi policies, 49-79  
Netherlands, 8, 66, 75, 77, 122, 124  
Netherlands Indies, 116, 187-188  
Neutral countries, 8  
New Britain, 100, 187  
New Caledonia, 91, 172-173; Map, 92  
New Guinea, 91, 124, 157, 187  
New Hebrides, 91, 144, 172-173  
New Order in Asia, 117  
New Order in East Asia, 102, 108-109, 115, 121, 189-190  
New Order in Europe, 73, 79, 189-190  
New Order in Greater East Asia, 93-94, 118, 122, 124, 189-190  
New Zealand, 8, 91, 150-152; Map, 92, 145  
Newfoundland, 27, 91, 144, 183; Map, 83, 92  
Nicaragua, 8, 91  
Nickel, 40, 89  
Nicobar Islands, 26, 124, 188  
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 10, 50  
Niger River, 13  
Nigeria, 91  
Nikolaievsk, 139-140, 187  
Nile River, 13  
Nine-Power Pact, 7, 93, 101  
Nomura, Ambassador, 123  
Novosibirsk, 139  
North Africa, 32, 172-173; Map, 92  
North Atlantic route, 149-150  
North Atlantic, Battle of, 155-156  
North Cape, 27, 31  
North China, 95, 110-111, 114  
North Pacific, Map, 85  
North Sea, 68, 94  
Northern Ireland, 91, 151  
Norway, 8, 29, 75-76  
Novaya Zemlya, 27  
Nuremberg Congress, 59  
Oahu Island, 26, 185-187  
Ob River, 12, 129  
Ocean routes, 44  
Oil, *see* Petroleum  
Oman, 27  
Omsk, 138-139  
Oran, 67-68  
Orange River, 13  
Oregon, 81  
Osaka, 125; Map, 96-97  
Oslo, 27, 29, 65  
Ottawa, 28  
Ottoman Empire, 68  
Outer Mongolia, 107, 111, 130-131  
Pacific Ocean, 19, 91-92, 101, 185, 187-188; Map, 96, 97  
Pago Pago, 91, 187  
Palau, 100, 187  
Palermo, 176  
Palestine, 91, 144  
Palmyra Island, 91, 187  
Pan American Highway, 45  
Pan American Republics, 93  
Pan American Union, 23, 163-164  
Pan Asianism, 94-95  
Pan German policy, 53, 57  
Pan Germanism, 189  
Pan Germany, 58-59, 62, 76  
Panama, Isthmus of, 9; Republic, 8, 91  
Panama Canal, 9, 26-28, 84-85, 91, 93, 187; Map, 83  
Pantelleria, 27, 176-177  
Papua, 124, 187  
Paraguay, 8  
Paramushiro, 98, 129  
Paria, Gulf of, 28  
Paris, 17, 28, 170; Map, 171; Conference, 8, 101; Pact, 7; Treaty of, 160  
Partisans, 78  
Paul, Regent Prince, 71  
Pavelitch, Ante, 72  
Pearl Harbor, 3, 91, 99, 123, 185, 187  
Peartree Pass, 176  
Peiping, 104, 106-107  
Peking, 91; Government, 111, 113; Treaty of, 97  
Penang, 18  
Perim Island, 27  
Perry, Commodore, 94  
Persia, *see* Iran  
Persian Gulf, 13, 131  
Peru, 8, 91; Map, 92  
Pescadores, 98, 101, 126  
Pétain, Marshal, 66-67, 77  
Peter II, 71  
Peter the Great, 132  
Petroleum, 41-43, 70-71, 80, 89, 137, 160, 188; Map, 39, 69, 136

- Petropavlovsk, 27, 129, 131, 187  
 Petsamo, 31  
 Philippine Islands, 8, 18, 84, 91, 100, 115-116, 124, 187; Map, 96  
 Phosphates, 41  
 Pincers, Technique, Diagram, 135  
 Pivot area, 12, 113; Map, 12  
 Point Barrow, 27  
 Pola, 175-176  
 Poland, 8, 33, 61, 64, 75-76, 132; Four partitions, 8; Fourth partition, 64-65, 132; Invasion, 57, 64  
 Polish Corridor, 64  
 Polish-German non-aggression pact, 64  
 Political geography, 5-6  
 Political organization, Prime factor, 46-48; United States, 90  
 Polynesia, 116  
 Ponape, 100, 187  
 Population, 17; Brazil, 178; British Commonwealth-Empire, 150; Canada, 158; China, 165-166; France, 170-172; Japan, 103; Prime factor, 34-37; Soviet Union, 135-137; United States, 87-88; World Blocs, Map, 34  
 Port Arthur, 99, 131, 187  
 Port Moresby, 187  
 Port Said, 175  
 Port Stanley, 27  
 Portsmouth, Treaty of, 99, 129, 131  
 Portugal, 8, 75, 78-79  
 Potash, 41  
 Praha, 61-62, 70-71  
 Pu Yi, Henry, 109  
 Puerto Rico, 28, 84, 91  
 Punta Arenas, 27  
  
 Quartz crystal, 40, 90  
 Quebec, 172  
 Quinine, 40, 85, 90  
 Quisling, Major Vidkun, 65, 76  
  
 Rabaul, 100, 157, 187  
 Race, 35-36, 75, 88; Soviet Union, 136  
 Railroads, 45; South Manchuria, 97-99, 101, 110; Soviet Union, 128; Trans-Iranian, 45; Trans-Siberian, 45, 130, 135-136, 139-140; Turksib, 108, 140; United States, 45, 90  
 Rangoon, 108  
 Ratzel, Teachings of, 10-11; 7 Laws of, 10  
 Rauschnig, Hermann, 74  
 Raw materials, United States, 89  
 Red Sea, 13  
 Regionalism, 188-189  
 Religion, 37, 56, 137  
 Reykjavik, 27  
 Reynaud, 66-67, 77  
 Rhineland, Remilitarization, 58  
 Rhodes (island), 176  
 Rhodes, Cecil, 9, 45  
 Rhodesia, 145  
 Riga, 133  
 Ritter, Karl, 10  
 Roman Empire, 173, 178  
 Rome, 55, 173-175, 178; Map, 174  
 Rommel, Field Marshal, 32  
 Roosevelt, F. D., 22, 67, 79, 93, 119-120, 122-123, 161-162, 173  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 9, 82-84, 93  
 Root-Takahira agreement, 98  
 Rosenberg, Alfred, 52; Ideas of, 74  
 Rota, 100, 187  
 Rotterdam, 66  
 Rubber, 32, 40, 85, 87, 90, 178-179; Map, 39  
 Ruhr District, Map, 58  
 Rumania, 8, 69-72, 75, 121, 132-133  
 Runciman, Lord, 60  
 Russia, *see* Soviet Union  
 Russian Turkestan, *see* Soviet Central Asia  
 Russo-Finnish War, 133  
 Russo-German non-aggression pact, 19, 23-24  
 Russo-Japanese War, 94-95, 97-99, 127  
 Russo-Turkish War, 132  
 Ruthenia, 61  
 Ryukyu Islands, 96, 98, 101, 126, 187  
  
 Sahara Desert, 13  
 Saigon, 118  
 St. Croix, 28  
 St. Lawrence Waterways, 160  
 St. Lucia, 28, 91  
 St. Pierre, 149, 172  
 St. Thomas Island, 28  
 Saipan, 100, 187  
 Sakhalin, 94, 99, 126, 129-130; Map, 96  
 Salamaua, 157  
 Salerno, 178  
 Salvador, 8  
 Samoa, 91, 187  
 San Francisco, 185  
 San Juan, 27-28  
 San Marino, 29  
 Santiago, 185  
 Sarawak, 124, 145  
 Sardinia, 176  
 Saudi Arabia, 8  
 Scandinavia, 65, 76  
 Scapa Flow, 27  
 Schuschnigg, Chancellor, 59  
 "Scorched earth" policy, 125  
 Sea power, 18, 185  
 Seattle, 185  
 Selassie, Haile, 177  
 Semple, Ellen Churchill, 11  
 Serbia, 75  
 Serbs, 71, 77-78  
 Sevastopol, 131  
 Seversky, Major, 6, 18, 185  
 Seward, William, 82, 183  
 Seyss-Inquart, 59, 77  
 Sfax, 177  
 Shanghai, 107  
 Shansi, 104, 107, 113  
 Shantung, 104, 107, 113; Peninsula, 99-100  
 Shape, 85-87; France, 170; Prime factor, 28-31  
 Sheikh Said, 27  
 Shensi, 107  
 Shetland Islands, 183  
 Siam, *see* Thailand  
 Siberia, 124, 127-129  
 Sicily, 12, 27, 91, 175, 177-178; Map, 174  
 Sierra Leone, 91, 144  
  
 Siewert, Wulf, 16  
 Silk, 40  
 Simovitch, Dusan, 71  
 Singapore, 18, 27, 115, 145, 185, 187-188; Map, 125; Island, 27  
 Sinkiang, 107-108, 131, 165  
 Sino-Japanese War, 19, 95, 98, 106  
 Sitka, 183, 187; Map, 184  
 Size, Prime factor, 28-31; Soviet Union, 134; United States, 85-87  
 Skagway, 183  
 Slovakia, 8, 61, 75, 121, 133  
 Slovenes, 71, 78  
 Slovenia, 77-78  
 Smith, Robert Aura, 19  
 Smolensk, 134  
 Social Organization, prime factor, 46-48  
 Solomon Islands, 91, 124, 157, 187  
 Somme River, 27  
 Soo Canal, 86  
 South Africa, Union of, 150-152; Map, 145  
 South America, 42, 84-85, 178-180  
 South Manchuria, 98; Railway, 97-99, 101, 110  
 South Pacific, 95, 115, 149; Islands, Map, 92  
 South Sea Regions, definition, 116  
 Southern Rhodesia, 151  
 Southwest Pacific, 187-188  
 Sovetskaya Gavan, 130-131, 139  
 Soviet Central Asia, 135-136, 138-139  
 Soviet Socialist Republics, Map, 141  
 Soviet Union, 5, 8, 18-19, 29, 44, 65, 78, 99, 122, 126; Map, 128; Agriculture, 138-139; Buffer areas, Map, 128; Cities of the future, Map, 128; Climate, 134; Geopolitics, 127-142; Ice-free ports, Map, 128; Industrial centers, 138; Invasion of, 19, 72, 133-134; Location, 129; Manufacturing districts, 44; Natural resources, 137, 139; Old industrial centers, Map, 128; Organization, 46-47, 140; Population, 35, 135-137; Race, 136; Railroads, Map, 128; Self-sufficiency, 138; Size, 134; Transportation facilities, 139-140  
 Spain, 8, 18, 75, 78-80, 99-100, 121  
 Spanish-American War, 78-79, 82-84, 100  
 Spengler, Oswald, 50-52  
 Spezia, 175  
 Spratley Islands, 115-116  
 Spykman, Nicholas J., 14  
 Stalin, Marshal Premier, 47, 78, 132, 134, 140  
 Stalin Canal, 139  
 Stalingrad, 127-129, 134  
 Stalino, 138  
 State, concept, 10; Frontiers, 10; Growth, 10-11  
 Stavanger, 29, 65  
 Steel, 41, 78  
 Stimson, Henry L., 101-102  
 Storm Troopers, 56  
 Strategic materials, 40, 85  
 Strategic resources, world, Map, 39  
 Sudetenland, 60  
 Suez Canal, 26-27, 149, 164; Company, 9  
 Suiyuan, 104, 107

- Sulphur, 79, 89  
 Sun Yat-sen, Dr., 94-95, 110, 112-114, 168  
 Suna, Yakichico, 117  
 Surabaya, 27, 187-188  
 Surinam, 89, 91; Map, 92  
 Svalbard, 31  
 Sverdlovsk, 138-139  
 Swain's Island, 91  
 Sweden, 8, 65, 75-78  
 Switzerland, 8, 36, 75, 78  
 Sydney, 27, 157, 187  
 Syr River, 12  
 Syracuse, 176  
 Syria, 77, 91, 172-173  
  
 Tadzhik, 140; Map, 141  
 Taishet, 139  
 Taiwan, 94, 98, 101, 126, 169, 187; Map, 96  
 Takahashi, Admiral, 117-118  
 Takeuchi, Tatsuji, 102  
 Tanaka, Baron, 9, 19; Memorial, 19  
 Tanganyika, 144  
 Tangier, 27  
 Taranto, 68, 175  
 Tasmania, 27  
 Taurus Mountains, 13  
 Taussig, Rear Admiral Joseph K., 20  
 Terboven, Josef, 76  
 Terranova, 176  
 Territorial Expansion of Japan, Table, 105  
 Texas, 80-81  
 Thailand, 8, 115, 118-120, 122, 124  
 Third Reich, 189; Geopolitics, 49-79  
 Thirty Years' War, 8  
 Three-Power Pact, 20-21, 70-71, 73, 79, 97, 118, 120-121  
 Thyssen, Fritz, 50  
 Tibet, 107, 154, 165  
 Tientsin, 91, 104, 107  
 Timor, 124  
 Tin, 40, 85, 89; Map, 39  
 Tiso, Dr., 61  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 80  
 Togoland, 172  
 Tojo, Premier, 95, 120-121  
 Tokyo, 125, 130; Map, 96-97  
 Torres Strait, 27  
 Toulon, 77, 170  
 Trade routes, 85  
 Trans-Iranian Railroad, 45  
 Trans-Pacific routes, 149  
 Trans-Siberian Railroad, 45, 130, 135-136, 139-140  
 Transportation facilities, 38, 44; United States, 90  
 Transylvania, 71  
 Treitschke, Heinrich von, 10, 50  
  
 Trieste, 176  
 Trinidad, 27-28, 85, 91  
 Tripoli, 177  
 Tripolitania, 177  
 Trondheim, 29, 65  
 Trotsky, 140  
 Truk, 100, 187  
 Tungsten, 40, 89  
 Tunis, 177  
 Tunisia, 27, 91, 172-173, 175, 177; Map, 172, 174  
 Turin, 175  
 Turkistan, Russian, *see* Soviet Central Asia  
 Turkey, 5, 8, 68-69, 78-79, 132  
 Turkman, 140; Map, 141  
 Turksib Railway, 108, 140  
 Tutuila, 187  
  
 Ukraine, 44, 78, 132, 138-140; Map, 141  
 Unalaska, 183  
 Union of South Africa, 150-152; Map, 145  
 U. S. S. R., *see* Soviet Union  
 United Kingdom, 145, 150-151; Industry, 154  
 United Nations, 7-8  
 United States, 8, 13, 19, 25, 29, 41, 120-122, 126, 133, 141-142, 185; Map, 83, 85, 92; Agriculture, 87; Airline routes, Map, 186; Armed Forces Abroad, Map, 92; Canadian relations, 160-163; Colonial empire, 29; Constitution, 102; Geopolitics, 80-93; Manufacturing, 88, 90; Organization, 46, 90; Population, 35, 87-88; Railroads, 45, 90; Raw materials, 89; Shape, 85-87; Size, 85-87; Transportation, 90; Water power, 89  
 Ural Mountains, 12-13, 127, 134-136, 138-140  
 Ural River, 13  
 Uruguay, 8  
 Urumchi, 108  
 Uzbek, 140; Map, 141  
  
 Valdez, 183  
 Vanadium, 40  
 Vargas, President, 173  
 Vatican City, 29  
 Venezuela, 8, 85; Map, 92  
 Venice, 175  
 Versailles, Treaty of, 15, 29, 57-58, 123, 189  
 Vichy France, 75, 78  
 Vienna, Congress of, 8  
 Viipuri, 133  
 Virgin Islands, 28, 91  
 Virgin Passage, 28  
  
 Vitebsk, 134  
 Vladivostok, 130-131, 135, 139-140, 187  
 Volga Basin, 12  
 Volga-Don Canal, 139  
 Volga-Moscow Canal, 139  
 Volga River, 13, 27  
 Volturno River, 178  
 von Bernhardt, General Friedrich, 58  
 von Bismarck, Otto, 9, 68, 74  
 von Humboldt, Alexander, 10  
 von Kleffens, Minister, 66  
 von Neurath, Baron, 76  
 von Ribbentrop, Foreign Minister Joachim, 21, 59, 64, 70, 72, 121  
 von Richthofen, Baron Ferdinand, 167  
 von Siemens, Georg, 68  
 von Treitschke, Heinrich, 10, 50  
  
 Wagner, Richard, 50-52, 55  
 Wake Island, 91, 100, 124, 187  
 Wang, Ching-wei, 111-115, 168  
 War of the Pacific, 5, 82  
 Warm-water ports, 5  
 Washington Conference, 93, 101, 115  
 Washington Naval Treaty, 101  
 Water power, Soviet Union, 137; United States, 89  
 Waterloo, Battle of, 17  
 Wehr-geopolitik, 18  
 Weimar, Constitution, 47; Republic, 57  
 Weltanschauung, 55  
 West Indies, 84-85, 144; Map, 92  
 Western Hemisphere, 23  
 Westphalia, Peace of, 8  
 Weygand, 66  
 Whitehorse, 183  
 Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 68  
 Wilhelmina, Queen, 77  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 7, 93, 101, 123  
 Windward Passage, 28  
 World island, 12, 14, 191  
 World ocean, 11-12  
 World powers, requirements for, 37  
 Wotje, 187  
 Wu Pei-fu, Marshal, 112  
  
 Yangtze River, 166-167  
 Yangtze Valley, 107  
 Yap, 100, 187  
 Yenisei River, 12, 15, 129  
 Yokohama, 125  
 Yucatan, Strait of, 28  
 Yugoslavia, 8, 69-72, 77-78  
  
 Zambezi River, 13  
 Zanzibar, 144  
*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 5, 11, 15-16, 73  
 Zinc, 41, 89

## KEY TO NUMBERS

### NORTH AMERICA

1. British Honduras
2. Costa Rica
3. Guatemala
4. Honduras
5. Nicaragua
6. Panama
7. El Salvador

### SOUTH AMERICA

1. British Guiana
2. Surinam (Dutch Guiana)
3. Ecuador
4. French Guiana
5. Paraguay
6. Uruguay

### EUROPE

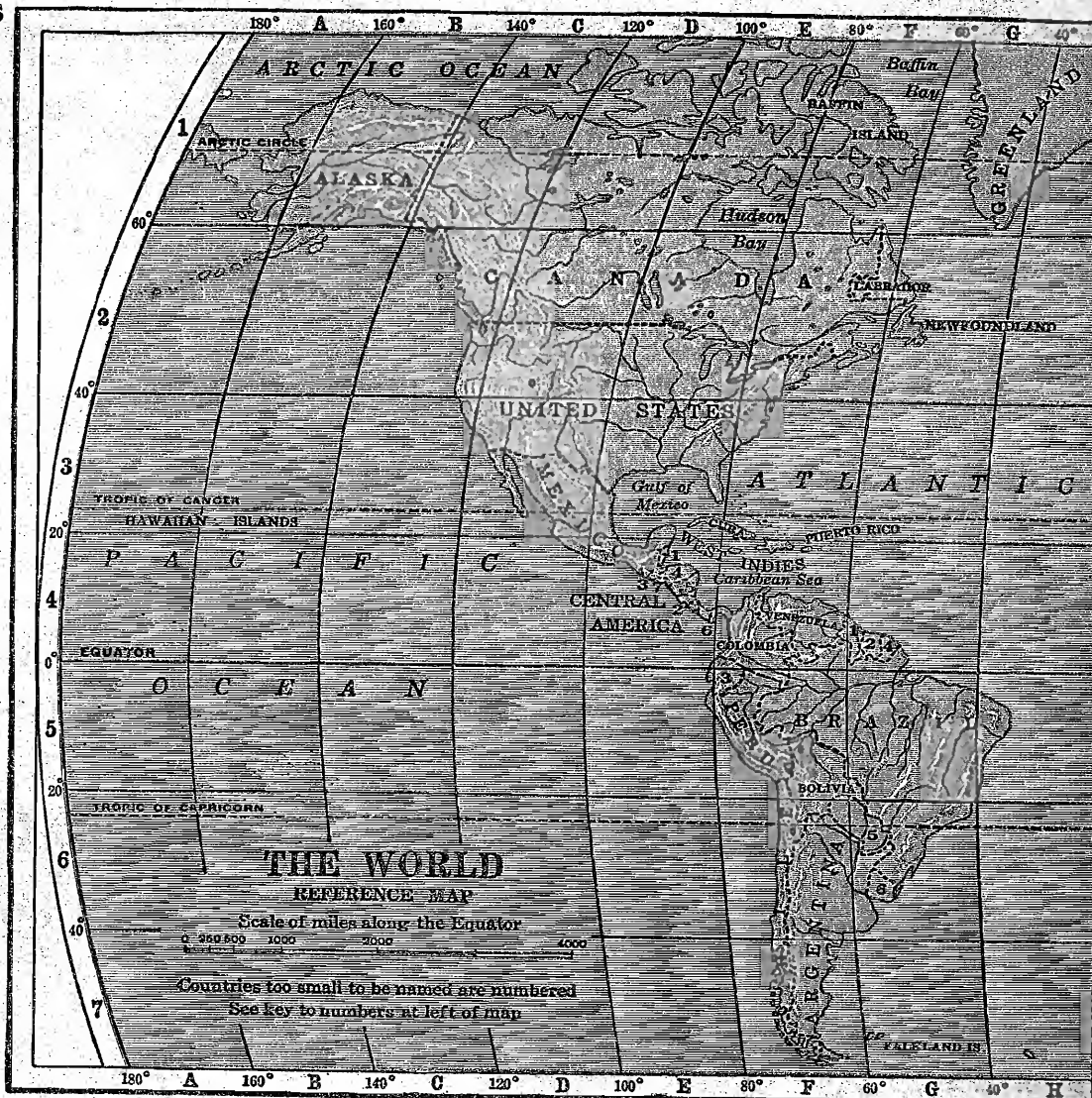
1. Albania
2. Belgium
3. Bulgaria
4. Denmark
5. Eire
6. England
7. Estonia
8. Greece
9. Hungary
10. Latvia
11. Lithuania
12. Netherlands
13. Northern Ireland
14. Portugal
15. Rumania
16. Scotland
17. Slovakia
18. Switzerland
19. Wales
20. Yugoslavia

### AFRICA

1. Ashanti and Gold Coast
2. Bechuanaland
3. British Somaliland
4. Eritrea
5. French Somaliland
6. Italian Somaliland
7. Liberia
8. Nyasaland
9. Portuguese Guinea
10. Sierra Leone
11. Tunisia
12. Uganda

### ASIA

1. Bhutan
2. British Malaya
3. Iraq
4. Nepal
5. Oman
6. Palestine
7. Syria
8. Trans-Jordan
9. Yemen



## AREAS AND POPULATIONS OF THE

### NORTH AMERICA

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION
Alaska	586,400	72,524
British Honduras	8,598	59,965
Canada	3,694,863	11,506,655
Costa Rica	23,000	639,197
Cuba	44,164	4,227,597
El Salvador	13,176	1,787,930
Greenland	736,518	16,630
Guatemala	45,452	3,284,269
Honduras	44,275	1,105,504
Labrador	110,000	4,716
Mexico	765,917	19,473,741
Newfoundland	42,734	300,000
Nicaragua	57,143	1,133,572
Panama	28,576	635,836
United States	3,022,387	131,669,275

### SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina	1,079,965	13,320,641
Bolivia	506,792	3,457,000
Brazil	3,275,510	45,002,176

### AREA IN SQUARE MILES

### POPULA- TION

British Guiana	89,480	346,982
Chile	296,717	4,677,089
Colombia	439,997	8,701,816
Ecuador	275,936	2,921,688
French Guiana	34,740	30,906
Paraguay	169,266	1,014,773
Peru	482,258	6,207,967
Surinam (Dutch Guiana)	54,291	181,044
Uruguay	72,153	2,122,628
Venezuela	352,143	3,491,159

### EUROPE

Albania	10,629	1,003,124
Belgium	11,775	8,299,940
Bulgaria	39,825	6,090,215
Denmark	16,575	3,706,349
Eire	26,601	2,965,854
England	50,874	37,794,003
Estonia	18,353	1,126,413
Finland	147,811	3,786,844
France	212,659	41,905,968

### AREA IN SQUARE MILES

### POPULA- TION

Germany	240,000	85,000,000
Greece	50,270	6,830,000
Hungary	45,000	10,350,000
Iceland	39,709	115,870
Italy	119,714	42,527,561
Latvia	25,395	1,950,502
Lithuania	20,390	2,349,529
Netherlands	13,203	8,474,506
Northern Ireland	5,237	1,293,000
Norway	124,588	2,884,300
Poland	150,452	34,063,000
Portugal	34,254	7,260,000
Rumania	113,884	19,319,330
Scotland	30,405	4,842,980
Slovakia	14,765	2,450,100
Soviet Union	1,821,353	165,847,100
Spain	190,050	24,583,095
Sweden	173,347	6,249,489
Switzerland	15,944	4,066,400
Wales	7,466	2,158,374
Yugoslavia	95,558	14,950,372







